



THE  
**Fourth Volume**  
OF  
**PLUTARCH'S  
LIVES.**

*Translated from the Greek,*  
BY  
**SEVERAL HANDS.**

L O N D O N :  
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*A. Chronological Table to the Fourth Volume of  
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	The Olympiad.	The Year of the Olympiad.	After the building of Rome.	After the Worlds Creation.	Before the coming of Christ.	The Julian Period.
<i>Agésilas</i>	95	1	353	3550	398	4314
<i>Pompeius</i>	174	3	672	3869	79	4633
<i>Alexander over- came Darius</i>	111	2	418	3615	333	4379
<i>Julius Cæsar Consul</i>	180	2	694	3891	57	4655
<i>Phocion</i>	105	4	396	3593	355	4357
<i>Caro Utican</i>	179	4	692	3889	59	4653
<i>Agis</i>	134	2	510	3707	241	4471
<i>Cleomenes.</i>	138	1	525	3722	226	3722
<i>Tiberius Gracchus</i>	161	1	617	3814	134	4578
<i>Caius Gracchus</i>	163	4	628	3825	123	4589

AGE, SILAUS.



Murghers sculp.

# THE LIFE OF AGESILAUS.

Translated out of the Greek,  
By *Wal. Needham*, M. D.

**A**rchidamus, the Son of Zeuxidamus, having reigned gloriously over the Lacedæmonians, left behind him two Sons. Agis the elder was begotten of Lamprido, a very Noble and Illustrious Lady. Agesilaus, much the younger, was born of Eupolia, the Daughter of Melisippidas. Agis being Heir apparent of the Crown, was bred suitably to his Birth. Agesilaus, the younger Brother, was educated according to the usual Discipline of

*Agesilaus his  
Parentage.*

*His Education.*

B the



the Countrey, which was very hard and severe, but such as taught young men how to obey their Superiors. Whence it was that (men say) *Simonides* called *Sparta* the tamer of Men, because by a customary strictness of Education, they inured the Citizens to Obedience, and patient Subjection, as Horses are broke to the Saddle: The Law did not hold so strict a Rein on the Heirs apparent of the Crown. But *Agésilans*, whose good Fortune it was to be born a younger Brother, was consequently bred to all the *Laconick* Arts of Obedience, and thereby fitted for the management of the Government, when it fell to his share. Hence it was that he became the most popular of the *Spartan* Kings, having learned how to temper the Grandeur of a Royal Condition, with the sweetness and debounairness of familiar Condescensions.

Whilst he was yet a Boy, bred up in one of the Schools or Colledges of Youth, he contracted an Intimacy with *Lyfander*, (a great Man afterwards in *Lacedæmon*) who much admired a generous Modesty and ingenious Shame he found in him. For though he was one of the highest Spirits, and fullest of Bravery of any of his Companions, always ambitious of Preheminence above them, towards which

His Friendship  
with *Lyfander*.

And his Cha-  
racter.

which the impetuous Vigour and invincible Fervour of his Mind irresistibly carried him, maugre all opposition or difficulty he could meet with; yet on the other side he was so easie and gentle in his Nature, and so apt to hearken to all rational and friendly Proposals, that a good word wrought more upon him, than the greatest dint of Force; he being ready to do any thing upon ingenuous Motives, but nothing upon Compulsion.

He had one Leg shorter than another; which Deformity he easily hid by a good meen and briskness in his Behaviour, he being the first alway to pass a Jest upon himself. And indeed it was a great Argument of his Love to Glory and great Actions, that his Lameness was no discouragement to him in the pursuit of them. Neither his Statue nor Picture are extant, he never allowing them in his Life, and utterly forbidding them to be made after his Death. He is said to have been a little Man, of a contemptible Presence; but the goodness of his Humour, and his constant Chearfulness, and agreeable Conversation, alway free from any thing of Moroseness or Haughtiness, made him more amiable (even to his old Age) than the most beautiful Men of the Nation.

*Theophrastus* writes, That the *Ephori* laid a Fine upon *Archidamus*, for marrying a little Wife, for (said they) *you will beget us a Race of Roitelets instead of Kings.*

*Alcibiades de-  
scribed in the  
wife of Agis,  
and begets Le-  
otychides.*

Whilst *Agis*, the elder Brother, reigned, *Alcibiades* (being then an Exile from *Athens*) came from *Sicily* to *Sparta*. Nor had he staid long there, before his Familiarity with *Timæa* the Queen grew suspected, insomuch that *Agis* refused to own a Child of hers, which (he said) was *Alcibiades's*, not his. Nor (if we may believe *Duris* the Historian) was *Timæa* much concerned at it, being herself forward enough to whisper among her Servants, that the Infant's true Name was *Alcibiades*, not *Leotychides*. Mean while it was believed, that the Amour he had with her, was not the effect of his Love, but his Ambition, that he might have *Spartan* Kings of his Posterity. This Affair being grown publick, it was time for *Alcibiades* to withdraw himself. But the Child was forced to abide there, and to endure the Severity of *Agis*, who never owned him for his Son, till upon his Death-bed he was overcome with the Prayers and Tears of *Leotychides*, to declare him for such, in a publick Audience. But this could not fix him in the Throne of *Agis*; after whose Death, *Lyfander*, the

the great *Lacedemonian* Captain, who had lately conquered the *Athenians* in a Sea-fight, and was of great power in *Sparta*, did promote *Agésilæus* to the Kingdom, urging *Leotychides's* Bastardy, as a Bar to his Pretensions. Many of the Citizens soon betook themselves to *Agésilæus* his Party, being thereto induced by the opinion they had of his Gallantry, of which they themselves had been Spectators, in the time that he had been bred up among them. Yet was not his way so smooth as to be free from Rubs: One he met with very considerable, from a Fortune-teller named *Diopithes*, who was of great Esteem among them for his Skill in Divination. He alledged, that it was unlawful to make a lame Man King of *Lacedæmon*, citing to that purpose the following Oracle:

*Leotychides  
put by the  
Throne as a  
Bastard.*

*Look to thy self, proud Sparta, lest thy Realm  
Do halt, and with its own fall thee o'whelm;  
Diseases then unlook'd for shall surround thee,  
And war with an impetuous torrent drown thee.*

But *Lyfander* was not wanting of an Evasion, alledging, that if the *Spartans* made any conscience of the Oracle, they must have a care of *Leotychides*; for it was not the limping Foot of a King that the Gods

were offended at, but the bastardizing of the *Herculean* Family, into whose Rights if a spurious Issue were admitted, it would make the Kingdom to halt indeed. *Agessilaus* made *Neptune* also a Witness of the Bastardy of *Leotychides*, proving that *Agis* was thrown out of Bed from his Wife by a violent Earthquake; after which time he did not cohabit with her, yet *Leotychides* was born above ten months after it. *Agessilaus* was upon these Allegations declared King, and soon possessed himself of the private Estate of *Agis* as well as his Throne, *Leotychides* being wholly rejected as a Bastard. Which being done, he cast his Eye on the Kindred of *Agis* by the Mothers side, whom he considered as Persons of good Worth and Vertue, but very poor: He gave them half his Brother's Estate, and by this popular act gained the good will, not of them only, but of the *Spartans* in general, and stifled that Envy that was growing against him upon the account of his Success. But whereas *Xenophon* saith of him, that by complying with, and as it were being ruled by his Countrey, he grew into so great power with them, that he could do what he pleased. This was by the power he got with the *Ephori* and Senate: These were of great Authority in the State; the former

*Agessilaus declared King.*

*Is kind to the Relations of Agis.*

*His Policy.*

mer were Officers annually chosen; the Senators held their Places during Life, both instituted as Bridles to restrain the Licentiousness of the Kings, as it is already more fully discoursed in the Life of *Lycorgus*. Hence it was that there was always a Feud and Contention between them and the Kings. But *Agessilaus* took another course; instead of contending with them, he courted them: He always acted by their Advice, was always ready to go, nay almost to run, when they called him. If he were upon his Throne hearing of Causes, and the *Ephori* came in, he arose to them; when-ever any man was elected into the Senate, he did always present him with a Gown and an Ox. Thus whilst he craftily made shew of Reverence to them, and a Deference to their Power, he secretly advanced his own Wealth, and enlarged the Prerogatives of the Crown, by several Liberties which their Friendship to his Person did grant him, or at least did wink at. To other Citizens he so behaved himself, as to be less blameable in his Enmities than in his Friendships: For towards his Enemy he behaved himself generously, scorning to take any unjust Advantage against him; but to his Friends he was partial, even in things manifestly unjust. If an Enemy had done any thing

praise-worthy, he scorned to detract any thing from his due Praises ; but his Friends he knew not how to reprove when they did ill, nay, he glory'd in bringing them off when they were obnoxious. He thought all Offices of Friendship commendable, let the Matter wherein they were employ'd be what it will. Again, when any of his Adversaries was overtaken in a Fault, he would pity them, and be soon entreated to pardon them, and shew them Kindness, by which means he allured the Hearts of all men. Insomuch that his Popularity grew at last suspected by the *Ephori*, who fined him as a Monopolizer of the Citizens, who ought to be the common Goods of the Republick. For as it is the Opinion of Philosophers, that if you take away Strife and Opposition out of the Universe, all the Bodies of it will stand still, Generation and Motion will cease, by reason of the mutual Consent and Agreement of all things : So the *Spartan* Legislator did seem to have mingled Ambition and Emulation, among the Ingredients of his Commonwealth, as the Incentives of Vertue, as thinking that mutual Compliance, in winking at one another, in Cases that deserved Rebuke, was but a false sort of Concord, no way useful to the Publick, but rather a corruption

tion of it. This some men think *Homer* to have had an eye to, when he introduceth *Agamemnon* well pleased with the Jars of *Ulysses* and *Achilles*, and with the hard words that passed between them ; which he would never have done, unless he had thought, that Dissentions and Factions of great men had been of use to the State. Yet this Maxim is not simply to be granted him without restriction, for if the Heats grow too big, they are very dangerous to Cities, and of most pernicious consequence.

When *Agésilæus* was newly entred upon the Government, there came News from *Asia*, that the *Persian* King was making great Naval Preparations, resolving with an high hand to dispossess the *Spartans* of their maritime Greatness. *Lysander* was glad of this occasion of succouring his Friends in *Asia*, whom he had there left Governours and Lords of Cities, who for their male-Administration and tyrannical Behaviour, had been deposed, and many of them put to death. He therefore perswaded *Agésilæus* to undertake the Expedition, and by translating the War from *Greece* to the barbarous Countrey, to prevent all the Designs of the *Persian*. He also wrote to his Friends in *Asia*, that by a solemn Embassy they should demand

A-

*He is chosen General for Asia.*

*Agésilas* for their Captain. *Agésilas* thereupon coming into the publick Assembly, offered his Service, upon condition that he might have 30 eminent Captains adjoyn'd to him as Counsellors; that he might also have 2000 of the newly enfranchiz'd *Helus*, and of other Allies, to the number of 6000. *Lysander's* Authority and Assistance soon obtained his Request, so that he was sent away with 30 *Spartan* Captains, of which *Lysander* was the chief, not only in Power and Reputation, but also in Friendship with *Agésilas*, who esteemed his procuring him this Charge a greater Obligation, than that of preferring him to the Kingdom.

Whilst the Army was drawing to the Rendezvous at *Gerastrus*, *Agésilas* went with some of his Friends to *Aulis*, where in a Dream he saw a man approach him, and speak to him after this manner: O King of the Lacedæmonians, you cannot but know that (before your self) there hath been but one general Captain of the Greeks, viz. *Agamemnon*; now that you succeed him in the same Office and Command of the same men, leading them out of the same Countrey to the War, you ought also to offer such a Sacrifice, as he made before he weigh'd Anchor.

*This Dream.*

A.

*Agésilas* soon remembred that the Sacrifice which *Agamemnon* offered was a Virgin, he being so directed by the Oracle. Yet was he not at all disturbed at it, but as soon as he arose, he telleth his Dream to his Friends, adding withal, that he would worship the Goddes with such Sacrifices as would be acceptable to her, and not imitate the rude Barbarity of that General. He therefore ordered an Hind to be crowned with Chaplets, and delivered to his own Southsayer, not to him whom the *Beotians* did of course delegate to that Office. When the *Beotian* Governours understood it, they were very much moved, and sent Officers to *Agésilas*, to forbid his sacrificing contrary to the Laws of the Countrey. These having deliver'd their Message to him, immediately went to the Altar, and threw down the Quarters of the Hind that lay upon it. *Agésilas* took this very ill, and without further Sacrifice immediately hoisted Sail, being ever after a great Enemy to the *Beotians*, and much discouraged in his mind at the bad Omen, boading to himself an unsuccessful Voyage, and a bad issue of the whole Expedition.

*The Beotians quarrel about the Sacrifice.*

When he came to *Ephesus*, he found the Power of *Lysander* grow very great and

The Ambition  
of Lysander.

and invidious, all Applications made to him, great crowds of Suitors alway attending at his Door, all men following and worshipping of him at so high a rate, as if nothing but the Name of Empire were left to *Agésilas*, the whole Power of it being devolved upon *Lysander*. None of all the Commanders that were sent this Voyage into *Asia*, was either so powerful or so formidable; no one rewarded his Friends better, or was more severe against his Enemies. Which things made the greater Impression in mens minds, because they observed the debonnair and popular Behaviour of *Agésilas*, whereas that of *Lysander* was high and rigid. He took men up short, and by that fierceness of Carriage so subdued the Spirits of men, that they wholly submitted to him, giving little Regard to *Agésilas*. This was first stomached by the other Captains, who with Indignation resented it, that they should be rather the Followers of *Lysander*, than the Counsellors of *Agésilas*.

As related by  
*Agésilas*.

At length *Agésilas* himself, though no envious man in his Nature, nor apt to be troubled at the Honours redounding upon other men, yet being highly jealous of his own Glory, began to apprehend that *Lysander's* Greatness would soon eclipse his,

his, and carry away from him the Reputation of whatever great Action should happen. He therefore went this way to work: He first opposed him in all his Counsels; whatever *Lysander* advised, was rejected, and other Proposals followed. Then whoever made any Address to him, if he found him a Retainer to *Lysander*, certainly lost his Suit. Whoever was prosecuted by him in judiciary Matters, was sure to get off with Victory, and whoever was visibly favoured by him, was used with all Severity and Rigor. These things being not done by Chance, but constantly and on set purpose, *Lysander* was soon sensible of them, and stuck not to tell his Friends that they suffered for his sake, bidding them apply themselves to the King, and such as were more powerful with him than he was. Which Sayings of his, when they seemed to be designed purposely to procure Envy to *Agésilas*, he stuck not to affront *Lysander* at a higher rate, imposing upon him the Office of dividing the Flesh among the Souldiers, and would in publick Companies speak scornfully of him, bidding them to go and pay their Observances to the Suttler of the Camp. *Lysander* no longer able to brook these things, complained at last to *Agésilas* himself, telling him, that

And suppressed.

that he knew very well how to oppress his Friends. To which *Agefilaus* answer'd, *I know who they be that pretend to more Power than my self. That, reply'd Lysander, is rather said by you, than done by me; I desire only this Favour of you, that you will assign me some Office and Place, in which I may serve you without incurring Envy.*

Upon this *Agefilaus* sent him to the *Hellespont* on an Embassy, whence he procured *Mithridates*, a *Persian* of the Province of *Pharnabazus*, to come to the Assistance of the *Greeks* with 200 Horse, and a great Supply of Money. Yet did not his Stomach so come down, but he fell to forming a Design, of wresting the Kingdom out of the hands of the two Families which then enjoy'd it, and make it wholly elective; and it is thought that he would have made a great Commotion in *Sparta*, if he had not died in the *Beotian War*. Thus ambitious Spirits are apt to grow troublesom in a Commonwealth, and when they transgress their Bounds, do more harm than good. Of this, this Quarrel between two such great men is an Example: For though *Lysander's* Pride was unsufferable, and his ambitious Projects very inconvenient to *Agefilaus's* Affairs, yet might the King have found out many ways of taming him, less reproachful

Plutarch's Reflexion upon both.

ful to a man of his Quality, and ambitious Designs. Indeed in my opinion they were both equally guilty, both blinded with the same Passion, so as one not to know the Power of his Prince. the other not to bear with the Imperfections of his Friend.

*Tisaphernes* being at first afraid of *Agefilaus*, soon treated with him about setting the *Græcian* Cities at liberty, which was agreed on. But soon after finding a sufficient Force drawn together, he resolved upon War, for which *Agefilaus* was not sorry. For the expectation of this Expedition was great, and he did not think it for his Honour, that *Xenophon* with 10000 men should march through the heart of *Asia* to the Sea, beating the King's Forces when and how he pleased, and that *Agefilaus*, in the Head of a *Spartan* Army, (so terrible both by Sea and Land) should make so great a Voyage, and raise no Monument of his Fame by any great Action. Therefore to be even with *Tisaphernes*, he revengeth his Perjury by a Stratagem. He pretends to go to *Caria*, whither when he had drawn *Tisaphernes* and his Army, he suddenly turneth back, and falleth upon *Phrygia*, taking many of their Cities, and carrying away great Booty. He took this occasion of shewing, that for Friends

*Tisaphernes*  
his Falshood.

Revenged.

Friends to break their solemn Leagues, and betray their Faith, was a downright Contempt of the Gods; but the Circumvention of an Enemy in War, is not only just but honourable, and of great Advantage to the Author of it.

Being weak in Horse, and withal terrified by some ill Omen in the Sacrifices, (*viz.* a Calf's Liver, wanted that little Lobe which the Southsayers call the Head) he retired to *Ephesus*, and there raised them. He obliged the rich men, that were not minded to serve in Person, to find Horsemen armed and mounted; which being performed, *Agessilaus* his Army was soon changed, from shabby Foot into many gallant Regiments of Horse: For those that were not good at Fighting themselves, hired such as were more martial in their Inclinations, and such as loved not Horse-service, substituted in their rooms such as did. He professed in this to imitate the laudable Example of *Agamemnon*, who took the Present of an excellent Mare, to dismiss a rich Coward from the Army.

When by *Agessilaus* his Order, the Prisoners he had taken in *Phrygia* were exposed to Sale, they were first stripped of their Garments, and then sold naked. The Cloaths found many Customers to buy them,

*Agessilaus his Expedient for raising Horse at Ephesus.*

*His Reflection on the Sardinian Slaves.*

them, but the Bodies being by the Ease they had alway lived in, rendered white and tender-skinned, were derided and scorned as unserviceable. *Agessilaus* who stood by at the Auction, told his *Grecians*, *These are the men against whom ye fight, and those are the things for which ye fight.*

The Season of the Year being come, he boldly gave out, that he would invade *Lydia*; which Plain-dealing of his was mistaken for a Stratagem by *Tisaphernes*, who by not believing *Agessilaus*, overreached himself. He expected that he should have made choice of *Caria*, as a rough Countrey, not fit for Horse, in which he deemed *Agessilaus* to be weak, and directed his own Marches accordingly. But when he found him to be as good as his word, and to have entred into the Countrey of *Sardis*, he made great haste after him, and by great Marches of his Horse, overtaking the loose Stragglers who were pillaging the Countrey, he cut them off. *Agessilaus* mean while considering that the Horse had out-rid the Foot, but that he himself had the whole Body of his own Army entire, made haste to engage them. He mingled his light-armed Foot, that wore leather Shields, with the Horse, commanding them to be-

*He enters Sardis.*

*And overcometh Tisaphernes.*



gin the Battel, whilst he brought up the heavier-armed men in the Rear. The Success was answerable to the Design; the *Barbarians* were put to the Rout, the *Grecians* pursued hard, took their Camp, and put many of them to the Sword. The consequence of this Victory was very great; for they had not only their liberty of foraging the *Persian* Countrey, and plundering at pleasure, but also saw *Tisaphernes* pay dearly for all the Cruelty he had shewed the *Greeks*, to whom he was a professed Enemy. For the King of *Persia* soon sent *Tithraustes*, who took off his Head, and presently dealt with *Agesilaus* about his Return into *Greece*, sending to him Ambassadors to that purpose, with Commission to offer him great Sums of Money. *Agesilaus's* Answer was, That the making of Peace belonged to the *Lacedaemonians*, not to him; as for Wealth he had rather see it in his Souldiers hands than his own; that the *Grecians* thought it not honourable to enrich themselves with the Bribes of their Enemies, but with their Spoils only. Yet, that he might gratifie *Tithraustes* for the Justice he had done upon *Tisaphernes*, the avowed Enemy of the *Greeks*, he removed his Quarters into *Phrygia*, accepting of 300 Talents towards the Charge of it. Whilst

he

*Tithraustes*  
sent to behead  
*Tisaphernes*,  
and to treat of  
Peace.

he was upon his March, he received a Patent from the Council of *Sparta*, which did constitute him Admiral as well as General. This Honour was never done to any but *Agesilaus*, who being undoubtedly the far greatest Man of his Time, (as *Theopompus* witnesseth) gloried more in his Vertue, than in his Authority and Power. Yet he committed a great Oversight, in preferring *Pisander* to the Command of the Navy, when there were many at hand both older and wiser, and more experienced Captains; in this not so much consulting the publick Good, as the Gratification of his Kindred, and especially his Wife, whose Brother *Pisander* was.

*Agesilaus made*  
Admiral of  
*Sparta*.

Having removed his Camp into *Pharnabazus's* Province, he not only met with great plenty of Provisions, but also raised great Sums of Money, and marching on to the Bounds of *Paphlagonia*, he soon drew *Cotys*, the King of it, into a League, to which he of his own accord inclined, out of the Esteem he had of *Agesilaus* his Honour and Vertue. *Spithridates* as soon as he fell off from *Pharnabazus*, did constantly attend *Agesilaus* in the Camp whithersoever he went. This *Spithridates* had a handsom Boy to his Son, of whom *Agesilaus* was enamoured also a very beau-

*Makes League*  
with *Cotys*,  
King of *Paphlagonia*.

C 2

tiful

He conquers  
Pharnabazus.

Spithridates  
with the Pa-  
philagonians  
revolts upon  
discontent from  
Agésilauſ.

Agésilauſ's  
Love to Mega-  
bates.

tiful Daughter, that was marriageable. Her *Agésilauſ* matched to *Cotys*, and taking of him a 1000 Horſe, with 2000 light-armed Foot, he returned into *Phrygia*, and there pillaged the Countrey of *Pharnabazus*, who durſt not ſtand him in the Field, nor yet truſt to his Garrifons, but getting his Jewels and rich Commodities together, ſitted up and down with a flying Army, till *Spithridates* being joyned with *Erippidas* the *Spartan*, beat him out of all his Holds, and they poſſeſſed themſelves of all the Spoyl. Here *Erippidas* being too ſevere an Enquirer into the Plunder wherewith the *Barbarian* Souldiers had enriched themſelves, and forcing them to deliver it up with too much ſtrictneſs, ſo diſoblighed *Spithridates*, that he changed ſides again, and went off with the *Paphlagonians* to the *Sardians*. This was no ſmall Diſpleaſure to *Agésilauſ*, not only that he had loſt the Friendſhip of a valiant Commander, and with him a conſiderable part of his Army, but chiefly that he did it with the Diſrepute of a ſordid Covetouſneſs, of which he alway took care to clear both himſelf and his Countrey. Beſides theſe publick Cauſes, he had a private one, *viz.* the exceſſive Love of his Son, which touched him to the quick, yet did he ſo much endeavour to maſter, and eſpecially

cially in preſence of the Boy, to ſuppreſs all appearance of it, that when *Megabates* (for that was his Name) did addreſs himſelf to him to ſalute and kiſs, he declined it. At which when the young man bluſhed and drew back, ſaluting him at a more reſerved diſtance, *Agésilauſ* ſoon repenting his Coyneneſs, and changing his Mind, pretended to wonder why he did not ſalute him with the like Familiarity as formerly. His Friends about him answered, *You are in the fault, who durſt not ſtand the Kiſs of a pretty Boy, but outrun it; he will ſoon offer you the like Kindneſs again, if he may but find it welcome to you.* Upon this *Agésilauſ* pauſed a while, and at length answered, *You need not encourage him to a repetition of that Kindneſs; I had rather be Maſter of my ſelf in the reſuſal of that Kiſs, than ſee all things that are now before mine eye turned into Gold.* Thus he demeaned himſelf to *Megabates* when preſent, but he had ſo great a paſſion for him in his abſence, that I queſtion whether if the Boy had returned again, all the Vertue he had, would have obliged him to ſuch another Reſuſal.

After that, *Pharnabazus* ſought an opportunity of conferring with *Agésilauſ*, which *Apollophanes* of *Cyzicum*, the common Hoſt of them both, procured for him.

A Conference  
between Phar-  
nabazus and  
Agésilauſ.

*Agésilas* coming first to the appointed Place, lay down upon the Grass under a Tree, lying there in expectation of *Pharnabazus*, who bringing with him soft Skins & wrought Carpets to ly down upon, when he saw *Agésilas*'s posture, grew ashamed of his own Provisions, made no use of them; but laid himself down upon the Grass also, though he had a fine delicate richly-died Coat on, which was like to lose much of its beauty by the action. *Pharnabazus* had matter enough of Complaint against *Agésilas*, and therefore after the mutual Civilities were over, he put him in mind of the great Services he had done the *Lacedæmonians* in the Attick War, of which he thought it an ill Recompence, to have his Countrey thus har- rassed and spoiled, by those men who had been so obliged to him. The *Spartans* that were about *Agésilas*, hung down their Heads, as ashamed of the Wrong they had done to their good Ally. But the King briskly answer'd, *We, O Pharnabazus, when we were in Amity with your Master the Persian, did behave our selves like Friends, now when he hath given us occasion of War, we behave our selves as Enemies. As for you, whose kind Offices we are ready to acknowledge, we look upon you as his Servant; we are fain to do these Outrages*

upon

*upon you, not intending the harm to you, but to him whom we wound through your sides. But when-ever you will choose rather to be a Friend to the Grecians, than a Slave of the King of Persia, you may then reckon this Army and Navy to be all at your Command, to defend both you and your Countrey, together with your Liberties, without which there is nothing honourable, or indeed desirable among men.* Upon this *Pharnabazus* discovered his mind, and answered, *If the King sendeth another Governour in my room, I will certainly come over to you, but as long as he trusteth me with the Government, I shall be just to him, and not fail to do my utmost Endeavours in opposing you.* *Agésilas* was taken with the Answer, and shook hands with him, and (rising) said, *How much rather had I have so gallant a man my Friend than mine Enemy.*

*Pharnabazus* being gone off, his Son, *Pharnabazus's Son presents* staying behind, ran up to *Agésilas*, and smilingly said, *Agésilas, I make you my Guest; and thereupon presented him* *Agésilas, and maketh him his Friend.* with a Javelin which he had in his hand. *Agésilas* received it, and being much taken with the good Meen and Gallantry of the Youth, looked about to see if there were any thing in his Train fit to offer him in Return; and observing the Horse of *Adæus*, his Secretary, to have very fine

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Trappings on, he took them off, and bestowed them upon the young Gentleman; nor did his Kindness rest there, but he was ever after mindful of him, insomuch that when he was driven out of his Country by the Injury of his Brethren, and lived an Exile in *Peloponnesus*, he took great care of his Maintenance, and not only so, but also condescended to assist him in his Amours: for he being in Love with a Youth of *Athenian* Birth, which was bred up to his Exercises, in order to playing of the Prize in the *Olympick* Games, and this Youth being, by reason of his great Bulk, and fowr Looks, in some danger of not being admitted into the List, the *Persian* betook himself to *Agésilau*s, and made use of his Friendship. *Agésilau*s readily assisted him, and took great pains in effecting his Desires. He was in all other things a man of great and exact Justice, but when the Case concerned a Friend, to be strait-laced in point of Justice, (he said) was only a colourable pretence of denying him. There is an Epistle written to *Idrieus*, Prince of *Caria*, that is ascribed to *Agésilau*s; it is this: *If Nicias be innocent, absolve him; if he be nocent, absolve him upon my account, however be sure to absolve him.* And indeed this is the true Character of *Agésilau*s, as to his Deportment towards his Friends.

*Agésilau*s's  
behaviour in  
point of Friend-  
ship.

Friends. Yet was not his Rule without exception; for sometimes he considered the necessity of his Affairs more than his Friend, of which he once gave a great Example, when upon a sudden and disorderly Remove of his Camp, he was forced to leave a sick Friend behind him; who when he called loud after him, and implored his help, *Agésilau*s turned his Back, and said, *What an hard thing is it to be merciful and wise too?* This Story is delivered by *Hieronymus*.

Another Year of the War being spent, *Agésilau*s his Fame still increased, insomuch that the *Persian* King received daily Informations concerning his many Virtues, and the great Esteem the World had of his Continency, his Candor and Moderation. When he made any Journey with his private Train, he would usually take up his Lodging in a Temple, and there make the Gods Witnesses of his most private Actions, which others would scarce permit men to be acquainted with. In so great an Army, you should scarce find a common Souldier lye on a courser Mattress, or fare more hardly; he was so inured to the varieties of Heat and Cold, that both seemed natural to him. The *Greeks* that inhabited *Asia*, were much pleased to see the great Dons of *Per-*

*His Repute in  
Persia and  
Asia.*

*sia,*

*sia*, with all the Pride, Cruelty and Luxury, in which they lived, to vail Bonnet to a man in a poor thread bare Cloak, and to be govern'd by a Word or Nod, or a *Laconick* Sentence out of his mouth. It put them in mind of that Verse in *Timotheus* :

*Mars is the Tyrant, Grecia fears not Gold.*

*Asia* being now grown afraid of the *Lacedemonian* Arms, was every where ready to yield to them. *Agessilaus* in the mean time took order with severall of the Cities, and compos'd the Differences of divers of the Republicks without Bloudshed, or Banishment of any of their Members. By these means having rendred himself every where popular, he resolv'd to quit the Sea-side, to march further up into the Countrey, and to attack the King of *Persia* himself in *Susa* and *Ecbatane*, not willing to let that Monarch sit idle in his Chair, whilst he made Wars by his Lieutenants, and by his Money corrupted the Demagogues of *Greece*. But these great thoughts were interrupted by unhappy News from *Sparta*; *Epicydidas* is from thence sent to remand him home, to assist his own Countrey, which was then involved in a great War.

Remanded home

Greece

*Greece to her self doth a Barbarian grom,  
When others could not, doth her self o'rethrow.*

What better can we say of those Civil Wars, and intestine Broyls, which did destroy the Fortune of *Greece*, and call her back from her full career of Victory over the *Barbarians*, only to sheath her Sword into her own Bowels? For I do by no means assent to *Demaratus* of *Corinth*, who said, *That those Grecians were deprived of a great Satisfaction, that did not live to see Alexander sit in the Throne of Darius*. That Sight should rather have drawn Tears from them, when they considered, that they had left that Glory to *Alexander* and the *Macedonians*, whilst they spent all their own great Commanders, in playing them upon each other in the Fields of *Leuttra*, *Coronea*, *Corinth* and *Arcadia*.

Nothing was greater or braver than the Behaviour of *Agessilaus* on this occasion, nor can a nobler Instance be found in Story, of a ready Obedience and just Defence to the Orders of the Senate. *Anni-bal*, though in a bad condition himself, and almost driven out of *Italy*, yet storm'd and rag'd when he was called home to serve his Countrey. *Alexander* made a Jest of the Battel between *Agis* and *Anti-*

His ready Obedience.

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*pater*, the Success of which required his looking back into his own Countrey, laughing and saying, *That whilst we are fighting Darius in Asia, it seems there is a Battel of Mice in Arcadia.* Happy Sparta mean while, in the great Justice and Modesty of *Agessilaus*, and in the Honour he paid to the Laws of his Countrey; who immediately upon receipt of his Orders, (though in the midst of his good Fortune, and in full hope of so great and glorious Success) left his Work unfinished, and instantly departed, leaving his Friends in *Asia* very sorrowful for the loss of him. Which great Kindness and Fidelity of his, that had obliged so many to him in *Asia*, did sufficiently confute the Saying of *Demaratus*, the Son of *Phœux*, *That the Lacedæmonians excelled in their publick Transactions, and just maintaining of Leagues, but the Athenians were better observers of private Friendships.*

The Coin of *Persia* was stamped with the Picture of an Archer; *Agessilaus* said, *That a 1000 Persian Archers had driven him out of Asia*; meaning the Money that was laid out in bribing the Demagogues, and the Orators in *Thbes* and *Athens*, whereby those two Republicks were incited to a War with *Sparta*.

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Having passed the *Hellepont*, he went <sup>Passeth home through Thrace</sup> by Land through *Thrace*, not begging or entreating a Passage any where, only he sent his Envoys to them, to demand whether they would have him pass as a Friend or as an Enemy. All the rest received him as a Friend, and used him with all Civility. But the *Trallians* (of whom <sup>The Trallians.</sup> *Xerxes* is said to have bought his Passage) demanded a Price of him, *viz.* 100 Talents of Silver, and 100 Women. *Agessilaus* in scorn asked, *Why they were not ready to receive them?* He marched on, and meeting with Opposition from the *Trallians*, fought them, and slew great numbers of them. He sent the like Embassy to the King of *Macedonia*, who took time to deliberate: *Why then let him deliberate,* said *Agessilaus*, *we will go forward in the mean time.* The *Macedonian* being surprised and daunted at the Resolution of <sup>Macedonia.</sup> the *Spartan* King, fairly sent him a Complement, and let him pass. When he came into *Thessaly*, he wasted the Countrey, because they were in League with the Enemy. To *Larissa*, the chief City of *Thessaly*, he sent *Xenocles* and *Scythes* to treat of a Peace, whom when the *Larisseans* had laid hold of, and put into Custody, the Army was enraged, and advised the Siege of the Town; but the King <sup>Wasteth Thessaly.</sup> an-

answered, *That he valued either of those men at more than the whole Countrey of Thessaly.* He therefore made Terms with them, and received his men again upon Composition. Nor need we wonder at that Saying of *Agessilaus*, at a time when he had News brought him from *Sparta* of several great Captains slain in a Battle near *Corinth*, in which though the Slaughter fell upon other *Grecians*, the *Lacedaemonians* obtaining a great Victory with small loss, yet *Agessilaus* did not appear at all satisf'd in it; contrarily with a great Sigh he cried out, *O Greece, how many gallant men hast thou destroyed, which if they had been preserved to so good an use, might have conquered all Persia!* Yet when the *Pharsalians* grew troublesom to him, by pressing upon his Army, and incommoding his Passage, he drew out 500 Horse, and in Person fought and routed them, setting up a Trophy at *Narthacium*. He valued himself much upon that Victory, that with so small a number of his own choosing, he had vanquished an Army of men, that thought themselves the best Horsemen of *Greece*.

Here *Diphridas*, the *Ephore*, met him, and delivered his Message from *Sparta*, which order'd him immediately to make an Inroad into *Beotia*; which though he thought

thought fitter to have been done at another time, and with greater Force, yet he obeyed the Magistrates. He thereupon told his Souldiers, that the day was come, in which they were to enter upon that Employment, for the performance of which they were brought out of *Asia*. He sent for two Cohorts of the Army near *Corinth* to his Assistance. The *Lacedaemonians* at home, in Honour to him, made Proclamation for Voluntiers that would serve under the King, to come in and be listed. Finding all the young men in the City ready to offer themselves, they chose 50 of the ablest, and sent them.

*Agessilaus* having gain'd the *Thermopylae*, and passed quietly through *Phocis*, as soon as he had entred *Beotia*, and pitched his Tents near *Charonea*, at once met with an Eclipse of the Sun, and with ill News from the Navy, *Pisander*, the *Spartan* Admiral, being beaten at *Guidos*, by *Pharnabazus* and *Conon*. He was much moved at it, both upon his own and the publick account. Yet lest his Army, being now near engaging, should meet with any Discouragement, he ordered the Messengers to give out, that the *Spartans* were the Conquerors, and he himself putting on his Crown, did solemnly sacrifice, out of a pretended Joy for the News, and sent

*Inva des Beotia, by Command of the Council of Sparta.*

*He laments the civil wars of Greece.*

*He routs the Thessalians.*

The Battel of  
Coronea.

sent portions of the Sacrifices to his Friends.

When he came near to *Coronea*, and was within view of the Enemy, he drew up his Army, and giving the left Wing to the *Orchomenians*, he himself led the right. The *Thebans* did make the right Wing of their Army, leaving the left to the *Argives*. *Xenophon*, who was present, and fought on *Agésilas's* side, reports it to be the hardest fought Battel that he had seen. The beginning of it was not so, for the *Thebans* soon put the *Orchomenians* to rout, as also did *Agésilas* the *Argives*. But both Parties having News of the Misfortune of their left Wings, they betook themselves to their Relief. Here *Agésilas* might have been sure of his Victory, had he contented himself not to charge them in the Front, but in the Flank or Rear; but being too high in Mettle, and heated in the Fight, he would not stay the Opportunity, but fell on downright, thinking to bear them down before him. The *Thebans* were not behind him in Courage, so that the Battel was fiercely carri'd on on both sides, especially near *Agésilas's* Person, whose new Guard of 50 Voluntiers stood him in great stead that day, and saved his Life. They fought with great Valour, and in-

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terposed their Bodies frequently between him and Danger, yet could they not so preserve him, but that he received many Wounds through his Armour with Lances and Swords, and was with much ado gotten off. They making a Ring about him, did guard him from the Enemy, with the Slaughter of many, and lost many of their own number. At length finding it too hard a task to break the Front of the *Theban* Army, they opened their own Files, and let the Enemy march through them, (an Artifice which in the beginning they scorned) observing in the mean time the posture of the Enemy, who having passed through, grew careless, as esteeming themselves past danger. Whereupon they were immediately set upon by the *Spartans*, yet were they not then put to Rout, but marched on to *Helicon*, vapouring, that they themselves, as to their part of the Army, were not worsted. *Agésilas*, sore wounded as he was, would not be born to his Tent, till he had been first carri'd about the Field, and had seen the dead men of his Party carri'd off in their Armour. As many of his Enemies as had taken Sanctuary in the Temple, he dismissed: for there stood hard by the Temple of *Minerva* the *Itonian*, and before it a Trophy erected by the *Beotians*, for a

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Victory, which under the Conduct of one *Spartan* their General, they obtained over the *Athenians*, who were led that day by *Tolmides*, and *Tolmides* himself slain.

Next morning early *Agessilaus*, to make trial of the *Theban* Courage, whether they had any mind to a second Encounter, did command his Souldiers to put on Garlands on their Heads, and play with their Flutes, and raise a Trophy before their Faces; but when they instead of Fighting, sent for leave to bury their Dead, he gave it them, and so confirmed to himself the Victory. After this he went to *Delphos*, to the *Pythian* Games which were then celebrating, at which Feast he assisted, and there solemnly offered the 10th. part of the Spoils he had brought from *Asia*, which amounted to an 100 Talents.

Being now returned to his own Countrey, the Eyes of the *Spartans* were upon him, to observe his Diet, and manner of Living. But he (not according to the Custom of other Generals) came home the same man that he went out, having not so learned the Fashions of other Countreys, as to forget his own, much less to nauseate or despise them, but he follow'd all the *Spartan* Customs, without changing either the manner of his Sup-

ping, or Bathing, or his Wifes Apparel, as if he had never travelled over the River *Eurotas*. The like he did by his Household stuff, his Armour, nay, the very Gates of his House were so old, that they might well be thought of *Aristodemus's* setting up. His Daughters Chariot (called the *Canathrum*) was no richer than that of other People. Now this *Canathrum*, whether Chariot, or Chair, was made of Wood, in the shape of a *Griffon*, or of the \* *Tragelaphus*, some antick shape \* Goat-deer, or other, on which the Children and young Virgins were carried in Processions. *Xenophon* hath not left us the Name of this Daughter of *Agessilaus*; at which *Dicæarchus* is angry, viz. that he can know the Names neither of *Agessilaus's* Daughter, nor *Epaminondas's* Mother. But in the Records of *Laconia* we find his Wifes Name to be *Cleora*, and his two Daughters to have been *Apolia* and *Prolyta*; and you may even to this day see *Agessilaus's* Spear kept in *Sparta*, nothing differing from that of other men.

There was a Vanity he observed among the *Spartans*, about keeping running Horses for the *Olympick* Games, upon which he found they much valued themselves. *Agessilaus* much despised it, as an Ostentation more of Wealth than Vertue, deem-

He despiseth the  
Olympick  
Games.

Agessilaus to the  
Pythian  
Games.

Agessilaus to  
the Pythian  
Games.

ing the Victory to be the Horse's, not the Man's. He therefore to convince the *Gracians* of it, did put his Sister *Cynisca* upon keeping a running Horse for that publick Solemnity.

To the wise *Xenophon*, his Friend, whom he much valued, he did propose the bringing of his Children to *Sparta*, to be there bred up in the strictest way of Discipline, and in the noble Art of Obeying and Governing.

*Lyfander* being dead, and his Faction yet great and prevalent, which he upon his coming out of *Asia* had raised against *Agessilaus*, the King thought it advisable to expose both him and it, by shewing what manner of a Citizen he had been whilst he lived. To that end, finding an Oration among his Writings, that was (composed by *Cleon* the *Halicarnassian*, but) intended to be spoken by *Lyfander* in a publick Assembly, to excite the People to Innovations and Changes in the Government, he resolved to publish it, as an Evidence of *Lyfander's* ill Practices. But one of the Senators, having the perusal of it, and finding it strongly written, advised him to have a care of digging up *Lyfander* again, and rather bury that Oration in the Grave with him. This Advice he wisely hearkened to, and ever after

He designs to expose *Lyfander* and his Party.

But is dissuaded.

ter forbore publickly to affront any of his Adversaries, but took occasions of picking out the Ringleaders, and sending them away upon foreign Services. He also found out ways of discovering the Avarice and the Injustice of many of them in their Employments; yet when they were by others brought into Question, he made it his business to bring them off, obliging them by that means, of Enemies to become his Friends, and so by degrees wore out the Faction.

*Agessipolis*, his fellow-King, was under the Disadvantage of being born of an exil'd Father, and himself young, modest and unactive, and meddled not much in Affairs. *Agessilaus* took a course of growing upon him, and making him yet more tractable. According to the Custom of *Sparta*, the Kings, if they were in Town, always dined together. This was *Agessilaus's* opportunity of dealing with *Agessipolis*, whom he found apt to amorous Intrigues as well as himself. He therefore always discoursed him about handsome Boys, egging him forward that way, and himself assisting in it, so far as to become the Confident of the Amour. Yet were these Amours innocent, according to the Custom of the *Spartan* Loves, which were always accompani'd with Vertue and Honour,

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nour, and a noble Emulation; of which you may see more in *Lycargus's* Life.

His Expedition  
against Co-  
rinth.

Having thus established his Power in the City, he easily obtained that his half Brother *Telemus* might be chosen Admiral, and thereupon making an Expedition against the *Corinthians*, and made himself Master of the long Walls by Land, through the Assistance of his Brother at Sea. Coming thus upon the *Argives* (who then held *Corinth*) in the midst of their *Isthmian* Games, he made them out-run their Sacrifices, and leave all their festival Provisions behind them. The exil'd *Corinthians* that were in the *Spartan* Army, desired him to keep up the Feast, and to appear Chief in the celebration of it. This he refused, but gave them leave to carry on the Solemnity, if they pleased, and he in the mean time staid and guarded them. When *Agessilaus* marched off, the *Argives* returned to their Sports again, with this variety of Fortune, that some who were Victors before, became Victors a second time, others lost the Prizes which before they had gained. But *Agessilaus* reproached them severely of Cowardise, who having so great an Esteem of the *Isthmian* Games, and so much valuing themselves upon the Victories there gotten, yet durst not adventure to fight in defence of them.

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His Opinion of  
Publick Sports  
and Games.

He himself was of opinion, that to keep a Mean in such things was best; he allowed of the Sports usually permitted in his Countrey, and would not refuse to be present at the Exercises either of the young Men, or of the Girls, being alway ready to take his share in them; but what many men seemed to be highly taken with in these Games, he seemed not at all concerned in. *Callipides* the Stage-player, being eminent in that Faculty through all *Greece*, meeting this King, did make his Obeisance; of which when he found no notice taken, he confidently thrust himself into his Train, expecting that *Agessilaus* would take some notice, and at least pass a Jest upon him. When all that failed, he boldly accosted him, and asked him, *Whether he knew him not? What* (said the King) *art thou Callipides the Sarranochio?* and so turn'd from him. Being invited once to hear a Man sing, who did admirably imitate the *Nightingale*, he refused, and answered, *That he had heard the Nightingale her self*. There was one *Menebrates*, a Physician in *Lacedaemon*, who, having been famed for great Success in great and deplored Diseases, was by way of Flattery called *Jupiter*: he was so vain as to take it, and having occasion to write a Letter to *Agessilaus*, thus endorsed it:

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*Menecrates* *Jupiter* to King *Agésilauſ*, greeting. The King returned Answer, *Agésilauſ* to *Menecrates*, Health, and a ſound Mind.

Whilſt *Agésilauſ* was in the *Corinthian* Territories, beholding his Souldiers pillaging the Temple of *Juno*, the *Theban* Ambaſſadors came to him to treat of Peace. He having a great Averſion for that City, and thinking it then advantageous to his Affairs publickly to ſlight them, did it ſufficiently, for he would not ſeem either to ſee them, or hear them ſpeak. But as if the expreſs Vengeance of God had appeared againſt this Inſolence, before they parted from him, he received News of the Overthrow of one of his Cohorts, by *Iphicrates*, with a greater Slaughter than he had received a long time; and that the more grievous, becauſe it was a choice Regiment of *Lacedæmonians* well armed, but overthrown by a parcel of light-armed Mercenaries. *Agésilauſ* made all the haſte he could to their Reſcue, but found it too late, the Buſineſs being over. He therefore retired to *Juno's* Temple, and ſent for the *Theban* Ambaſſadors to give them Audience. They now reſolved to be even with him for the Affront he gave them, and, without ſpeaking one word of the Peace, only deſired leave to go

He ſlighteth  
the Theban  
Ambaſſadors,  
of which he  
ſoon repenteth.

go into *Corinth*. *Agésilauſ*, being nettled with this Overture, told them in ſcorn, *That if they were minded to go and ſee how proud their Friends were of their Succeſs, they ſhould do it to morrow with ſafety*. Next morning, taking the Ambaſſadors with him, he ſpoiled the *Corinthian* Territories, up to the very Gates of the City; where having made a Stand, and let the Ambaſſadors ſee, that the *Corinthians* durſt not come out to defend themſelves, he diſmiſſed them; then gathering up the ſmall remainders of the ſhattered Cohort, he marched homewards, alway removing his Camp before day, and alway pitching his Tents after night, that he might prevent the *Arcadians* from taking any opportunity of inſulting over their loſs.

After this, at the Requeſt of the *Achai-ans*, he marched with them into *Acar-nia*, from whence he brought great Spoys, and overcame the *Acar-nians* in Battel. The *Achai-ans* would have perſwaded him to keep his Winter-Quarters there, to hinder the *Acar-nians* from ſowing their Corn; but he was of the contrary opinion, alledging, that they would be more afraid of a War next Summer, when their Fields were ſown, than they would be if they lay fallow. The Event did juſtifie his Opinion; for next Summer, when

His Policy con-  
cerning the A-  
car-nians.

when the *Achaians* began their Expedition again, the *Acaruanians* immediately made Peace with them.

When *Conon* and *Pharnabazus* were grown Masters of the Sea, and had not only infested the Coast of *Laconia*, but also rebuilt the Walls of *Athens* at the Cost of *Pharnabazus*, the *Lacedemonians* thought fit to treat of Peace with the King of *Persia*. To that end, they sent *Antalcidas* to *Teribazus* about it, basely betraying the poor *Asiatick* Greeks, on whose behalf *Agessilaus* had made the War. But no part of this Dishonour fell upon *Agessilaus*, the whole being transacted by *Antalcidas*, who was a bitter Enemy of *Agessilaus*, and did therefore urge on the Peace, because *Agessilaus* was so earnest for continuing the War, it being his Talent, in which he alway gain'd Reputation and Authority. Yet as ill as he liked the Peace, when once it was on foot, he promoted it, and being told by way of Reproach, that the *Lacedemonians* did now apply themselves to the *Median* Interest, he replied, No, but the *Medes* applied themselves to the Interest of the *Lacedemonians*. And when the *Grecians* were backward to the Agreement, he threatned them with War, unless they came up to the King of *Persia's* Terms. *Agessilaus* had a particular End

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in this, viz. to weaken the *Thebans*; for it was made one of the Articles of Peace, that the Countrey of *Beotia* should be set at liberty, which was then under the Dominion of *Thebes*.

This Pique of his to *Thebes* appeared further afterwards, when *Phæbidas* in full Peace did very dishonourably seize upon *Cadmea*, a Castle belonging to *Thebes*. The thing was much stomached by all *Greece*, and not well liked of by the *Laconians* themselves; those especially who were Enemies to *Agessilaus*, did require an account of the Action, and by whose Authority it was done, laying the Suspicion of it at his door. *Agessilaus* doubted not to answer on the behalf of *Phæbidas*, that the profitableness of an Action was chiefly to be considered; if it were for the Advantage of the Commonwealth, it was no matter by whose Authority it was done. This was the more remarkable in him, because he was alway observed to be a great Lover of Justice, and would in his private Discourses commend it as the chief of Vertues, saying, *That Valour without Justice was useless, and if all the World were just, there would be no need of Valour*. When any would say to him, *The Great King* (meaning the *Persian*) *will have it so*; he would smartly reply, *How*

*Phæbidas*  
breaks the  
Peace with  
*Thebes*.

The Spartans  
make a disho-  
nourable Peace  
with Persia.

is

is he greater than I, unless he be juster? He took the truly royal Measure of Greatness, which is to be computed by Justice, not by Force.

*He refuseth the King of Persia his Friendship.* The Peace being concluded, the King of Persia wrote to Agesilaus, desiring a private Friendship and Correspondence; but he refused it, saying, *That the publick Friendship was enough, whilst that lasted, there was no need of private.* Yet was he

*He defends Phæbidas.*

not alway of that mind, it plainly appearing, that sometimes out of Ambition, and sometimes out of private Pique, he brake that Rule. Particularly in this Case of the Thebans, he not only saved Phæbidas, but perswaded the Lacedæmonians to take the Fault upon themselves, and to retain Cadmea, putting a Garison into it, and to make Archias and Leontidas chief Governours of Thebes, who had been Betrayers of the main Castle to them. This gave strong Suspicion, that what Phæbidas did, was by Agesilaus's Order, which was afterward made evident by the Consequences: for when the Thebans had slain the Garison, and asserted their Liberty, he accusing them of the Murder of Archias and Leontidas, (who indeed were Tyrants, though in Title Polemarchi, or Generals) made War upon them. He sent Cleombrotus on that Errand, who was

*And warrath with the Thebans.*

*But not in Person.*

was now the other King, in room of Agesipolis that was dead, excusing himself by reason of his Age: for it was 40 years since he had first born Arms, and was consequently excused by the Law. Mean while the true Reason why he withdrew himself from the War, was, that he was ashamed, having so lately fought against the Tyranny of the Phliasiens, to fight now in defence of a Tyranny against the Thebans.

One Sphodrias, of Lacedæmon, being of a contrary Faction to Agesilaus, was Governour of Theſſie, a brisk daring Man, one that had more of Courage than Wisdom. This Action of Phæbidas fired him, and incited his Ambition to attempt some great Enterprize, which might render him as famous, as he perceived the taking of Cadmea had made Phæbidas. He thought the taking of the Piræum, and the cutting off thereby the Athenians from the Sea, a Matter of far more Glory: 'tis said, that Pelopidas and Gelon, the Governours of Beotia, put him upon it; they privily sent men to him, that pretended to be of the Spartan Faction, who highly commending Sphodrias, blew him up into a great Opinion of himself, protesting him to be the only Man in the World, that was fit for so great an Enterprize. Be-

*Sphodrias his Exploit.*

Being thus pricked forward, he could hold no longer, but soon engaged himself in a Business, every whit as dishonourable and treacherous as that of *Cadmea*, but attempted with less Valour and less Success; for the day broke whilst he was yet in the Plains of *Thriassum*, whereas he designed the whole Exploit to have been done in the night. As soon as the Soldiers perceived the Rays of Light reflecting from the Temples of *Elenfine*, upon the first rising of the Sun, it is said, that their Hearts failed them; nay, he himself, when he saw that he could not have the benefit of the night, had not Courage enough to go on with his Enterprize, but, having pillaged the Countrey, he returned with Shame to *Theſſia*. An Embassy was upon this sent from *Athens* to *Sparta*, to complain of the breach of Peace; but the Ambassadors found their Journey needless, *Sphodrias* being then under Process by the Magistrates of *Sparta*. *Sphodrias* durst not stay to expect Judgement, which he found would be capital, the City being highly incensed against him out of the Shame they had of the Business, and the Resolution they had to give the *Athenians* no cause of suspecting them, to be any way consenting to so base an Action.

This

This *Sphodrias* had a handsome Youth to his Son named *Cleonymus*, with whom *Archidamus*, the Son of *Agésilas*, was deeply in Love. With him did *Cleonymus* labour much for the preservation of his Father; but *Archidamus* durst not appear publicly in his Assistance, he being one of the professed Enemies of *Agésilas*. But *Cleonymus* having solicited him with Tears about it, (as knowing *Agésilas* to be of all his Father's Enemies the most formidable) the young Man did for two or three days follow his Father with such Shame and Confusion within himself, that he durst not speak to him. At last, the day of Sentence being at hand, he adventur'd to tell him, that *Cleonymus* had entreated him to intercede for his Father. *Agésilas*, though well aware of the Love between the two young Men, yet did not prohibit it, because he looked upon *Cleonymus* as an extraordinary Youth, and of great Hopes. Yet he gave not his Son any kind Answer in the Case, but coldly told him, That he would consider what he could honestly and honourably do in it, and so dismissed him. *Archidamus* being ashamed of his want of Success, did forbear the Company of *Cleonymus* for some days, a thing not usual with him. This made the Friends of *Sphodrias* to think his Case de-  
spa-

sparate, till *Etymocles*, one of *Agésilais's* Friends, did discover to them the King's Mind, viz. That he abhorred the Fact, but yet he thought *Sphodrias* a gallant Man, such as the Commonwealth much wanted at that time. These were the frequent Sayings of *Agésilais*, which gave *Cleonymus* sufficiently to understand, that *Archidamus* had been just to him, in using all his Interest with his Father; and *Sphodrias's* Friends grew brisk in his Defence. The truth is, that *Agésilais* was a very fond Man of his Children, insomuch that it is reported, That when they were little ones, he would make a Hobby-horse of a Reed, and ride with them. Being caught at this Sport by a Friend, he desired him to say nothing of it, till he himself were the Father of Children.

war with Athenians and Thebes.

Mean while *Sphodrias* being absolved of his Crime, the *Athenians* betook themselves to Arms, insomuch that *Agésilais* fell into great Disgrace with the People; that to gratifie the Amours of a Boy, would pervert Justice, and make the City accessory to the Crimes of two private Men, who by dishonourable Actions had broke the Peace of Greece. He also found his Colleague *Cleombrotus* little inclined to the *Theban* War; so that it became necessary for him to quit the Priviledge of his

Age,

Age, and which he before had claimed, and to lead the Army himself; which he did with variety of Success, sometimes conquering, and sometimes conquered, insomuch that receiving a Wound in a Battel, he was reproached by *Antalcidas*, That the *Thebans* had made him a good Requital, for teaching them to fight. And indeed they were now grown far better Souldiers than ever they had been, being so much harassed, and so much beaten into War, by the frequency of the *Lacedæmonian* Expeditions against them. Out of the foresight of which it was, that anciently *Lyciæus* in three several Laws forbid them to make Wars often in one Place, which would be to instruct their Enemies in the Art of it.

Mean while the Allies of *Sparta* were not a little discontented at *Agésilais*, that this War was commenced not from any just Offence taken, but meerly out of his Hatred to the *Thebans*, and with Indignation grumbled, that they being the Majority of the Army, should from year to year be thus exposed to Danger and Hardship here and there, at the Will of a few Persons.

*Agésilais* being put to his Shifts, to obviate the Objection, devised this Expedient, to try the numbers of both the *Spar-*

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*tans* and the Allies. He gave Orders that all the Allies, of what-ever Countrey, should sit down promiscuously on one side, and all the *Lacedæmonians* on the other: which being done, he commanded an Herald to proclaim, that all the *Potters* of both Squadrons should stand out; then all the *Blacksmiths*; then all the *Masons*; next the *Carpenters*; and so he went through all the Handicrafts. By this time almost all the Allies were risen, but of the *Lacedæmonians* very few, they being by Law forbidden to learn any Handicraft-trade: whereupon *Agésilans* fell on laughing, and told them, *Te sue, Gentlemen, how that our number of Souldiers is greater than yours.*

When he brought back his Army from *Beotia* through *Megara*, as he was going up to the Town-hall in the Castle of that Town, he was suddenly taken with Pain, and convulsive Motions, on his better Leg, upon which a great Tumour and Inflammation soon arose. He was treated by a *Syracusan* Phyician, who let him bloud below the Ankle: this soon eased his Pain; but then the Bloud could not be stopped, till it brought him to Fainting and Swouning; at length with much ado he stopped it. *Agésilans* was carri'd home to *Sparta* in a very weak condition, in so much that

Falleth lame of  
his better Leg.

that he recover'd not Strength enough to appear in the Field a long time after.

Mean while the *Spartan* Fortune was but ill, they having received many Losses both by Sea & Land; but the greatest was that at *Leuctra*, which was the first time that they were overthrown by the *Thebans* in a set Battel. The occasion was this:

The *Grecians* were all disposed to a general Peace, and to that end sent Ambassadors to *Sparta*. Among these was *Epaminondas*, the *Theban*, famous at that time for his Wisdom and Learning, but he had not yet given proof of his martial Vertues. He, seeing all the others crouch to *Agésilans*, and curry Favour with him, did himself notwithstanding keep up the port of an Ambassador, and with that Freedom that became his Character, make a Speech in behalf not of *Thebes* only, from whence he came, but of all *Greece*, remonstrating, that *Sparta* had grown great by War, to the great Grievance of all her Neighbours. He urged, that Peace might be made upon equal terms, such a one as might be a lasting one, which could not otherwise be done, than by reducing all to a Parity. *Agésilans* perceiving all the other *Greeks* to hearken much to this Discourse, and to be pleased with it, presently asked him, *Whether he*

A general Treaty of Peace.

Epaminondas his bold Demand.

thought it fit that Bæotia should be set free and be permitted to live by her own Laws. Epaminondas briskly returned the Question, Whether it were fit that Sparta should live by hers? Agesilaus, being moved at this Reply, Bid him set forth what grounds he had for pleading such Immunity for Bæotia. Epaminondas again asked him, What grounds he had for demanding liberty for Sparta? Agesilaus was so enraged at this, that he immediately struck the Thebans out of the League, and declared War against them. With the rest of the Greeks he made a Peace, and dismissed them with this Saying, That what could be peaceably adjusted, should, what was otherwise incurable, must be committed to the Success of War, it being a thing of too great difficulty to provide for all things by Treaty.

The Ephori did hereupon dispatch their Orders to Cleombrotus, who was at that time in Phocis, to march directly into Bæotia, and at the same time sent to their Allies for Help. The Confederates were very resty in the Business, and unwilling to engage, but as yet they feared the Spartans, and durst not refuse. And although many Portents, and Prodigies or ill Prefage, had appeared; and though Prothous the Laconian had laboured all he could to hinder it, yet Agesilaus would

needs

needs go forward, and prevailed so, that the War was decreed. He thought the present Juncture of Affairs very advantageous to it, the rest of Greece being wholly free, and in League with them, the Thebans only exempted. But that this War was undertaken more upon Passion than Judgement, the Event did prove: for the Treaty was finished but the 14th. of May, and the Lacedæmonians receiv'd their great Overthrow at Leuctra the 5th. of June within 20 days. There fell at that time a 1000 Spartans, and Cleombrotus

*Battel of Leuctra.*

their King, in the Company of many others of the most gallant Men of that Nation; particularly Cleonymus, the Son of Sphodrias, that beautiful Youth, was thrice knock'd down at the Feet of the King, and as often recover'd it, but was slain at the last.

This unexpected Blow, which fell so heavy upon the Lacedæmonians, brought greater Glory to Thebes, than ever was acquired by any other of the Grecian Republicks, in their Civil Wars against each other. The Behaviour notwithstanding of the Spartans, though beaten, was much greater, and more to be admired, than that of the Thebans. And indeed, if as Xenophon saith, In Conversation, good Men, even among their Sports and in their

*The Spartan's Behaviour under their Misfortunes.*

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Wine,

*At war with Thebes.*

Wine, do let fall many remarkable Sayings and Jest, that are worth the preserving; how much more worthy to be recorded, is an exemplary constancy of Mind, appearing both in the Countenances and Behaviours of brave Men, when they are pressed by adverse Fortune. It happen'd that the *Spartans* were celebrating a solemn Feast, at which many Strangers were present from other Countreys, and the Town full of them, when this News of the Overthrow came. The *Ephori*, though they were sufficiently aware that this Blow had quite ruined the *Spartan* Grandeur, and its Primacy over the rest of *Greece*, yet gave Orders that the Dancing should not break off, nor any of the Ceremonies of the Festival abate. The next Morning, when they had full Intelligence concerning it, and every body knew who were slain, and who survived, the Fathers of the slain came out rejoicing in the Market-place, saluting each other with a kind of Exultation; on the contrary, the Fathers of the Survivors hid themselves at home among the Women, as wholly ashamed of their Children. If Necessity drove any of them abroad, they went very dejectedly, with down Looks, and sorrowful Countenances. The Women out-did the Men in it: such whole

Sons

Sons were slain, openly rejoicing, and meeting triumphantly in the Temples; they who expected their Children home, being very silent, and much troubled.

But the common People being awaken'd by this Calamity, and withal terrified with the News of *Epaminondas* his Design of invading *Peloponnesus*, began to think of the Oracle, which had predicted Woes to them, when they had a lame Man to their King, and grew mightily afflicted for the Rejection of *Leotychidas*, who was both the right Heir, and straight in all his Limbs. Yet the Regard they had to the Wealth and Reputation of *Agæsilas*, so far stifled this Murmuring of the People, that notwithstanding it, they threw themselves upon him in this Distress, as the only Man that was fit to heal the publick Malady, by being made sole Arbitrer of all their Difficulties, whether relating to the Affairs of War or Peace. One great one was then before them, concerning the Runaways that had fled out of the Battel, who being many and powerful, it was feared that they might make some Commotion in the Republick, to prevent the execution of the Law upon them for their Cowardice. The Law in that Case was very severe; for they were not only to be degraded from all Honours, but also

*Agæsilas invested with absolute Power, to remedy the present Difficulties of State.*

*The Spartan Law against Cowardice.*

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it was a Disgrace to inter-marry with them : who ever met any of them in the Streets, might beat him if he lifted, nor was it lawful for him to resist ; they in the mean while were obliged to go abroad in a nasty Habit, with their Gowns patched of divers Colours, and to wear their Beards half shaved, half unshaven. To execute so rigid a Law as this, in a Case where the Offenders were so many, and of those many Men of great Families and Interest, and that in a time when the Common wealth wanted Souldiers so much as then it did, was of dangerous consequence. Therefore they chose *Age-silaus* a Dictator, or new Law-giver, with full power of abrogating old Laws, or making new ones, as he pleased. But he without adding to or diminishing from, or any way changing the Law, came out into the publick Assembly, and said, *That the Law should lye dormant at present, but be vigorously executed for the future.* By this means he at once preserved the Law from Abrogation, and the Citizens from Infamy : and that he might take off the Consternation that was upon the young Men, he made an Inroad into *Arcadia*, where avoiding Fight as much as he could, he contented himself to spoil the Territory, and to take a small Town be-

*He maketh an  
Inroad into  
Arcadia.*

long-

longing to the *Mantineans*, thereby reviving the Hearts of Populace, letting them see that they were not every where unsuccessful.

Upon this *Epaminondas* made an Inroad into *Laconia*, with an Army of 40000. besides light-armed Men, and others that follow'd the Camp only for Plunder, so that in all they were at least 70000. It was now 600 years since the *Dorians* had possessed *Laconia*, and in all that time the Face of an Enemy had not been seen within their Territories, no man daring to invade them : but now they made their Incursions without Resistance, as far as *Eurotas*, and the very Suburbs of *Sparta* ; for *Agessilaus* would not permit them to engage against so impetuous a Torrent, as *Theopompus* called it. He contented himself to fortifie the chief parts of the City, and to place Guards conveniently, enduring mean while the Taunts of the *Thebans*, who reproached him as the Firebrand of the War, and the Author of all that Mischief to his Countrey, and bidding him, defend himself if he could. But this was not all : he was greatly disturbed at home with the Tumult of the City, the Outcries and running about of the old Men, who were highly enraged at their present condition, and the Women much worse,

*Epaminondas  
invadeth Spar-  
ta.*

*It Sparta 600  
years without  
an Invasion.*

worse, being terrifi'd by the Clamours and the Fires of the Enemy in the Field. But that which cut him to the Heart was the sense of his lost Glory ; who having come to the Crown of *Sparta*, when it was in its most flourishing condition and highest Grandeur, now lived to see it laid low in Esteem, and all its great Vaunts derided, even those which he himself had been accustomed to use, viz. *That the Women of Sparta had never seen the Smoak of the Enemies Fire.* It is said that *Antalcidas* being in Dispute with an *Athenian*, about the Valour of the two Nations, the *Athenian* bragged, That they had often driven the *Spartans* from the River *Cephissus* : Yes, said *Antalcidas*, but we never had occasion to drive you from *Eurotas*. A common *Spartan* of less Quality, being in Company with an *Argive*, who was vapouring how many *Spartans* lay buried in the Fields of *Argos*, reply'd, But you have none buried in the Countrey of *Laconia*. Yet now the Case was so altered, that *Antalcidas* being one of the *Ephors*, out of Fear sent away his Children privately to the Island of *Cythera*.

When the Enemy essay'd to get over the River, and thence to attack the Town, *Agésilas* betook himself to the high Places and strong Holds of it. But it hap-

*Agésilas defends the Town.*

pen'd, that *Eurotas* at that time swelled to a great height, by reason of the Snow that had fallen, and made the Passage very difficult to the *Thebans*, not only by its depth, but much more by the Ice that was upon it. Whilst this was doing, *Epaminondas* every where appeared the foremost Man in the Army, insomuch that *Agésilas* viewing the whole Action, fell into admiration of his Gallantry. But when he came to the City, and would fain have attempted something either upon it, or within the Limits of it, that might raise him a Trophy there, he could not tempt *Agésilas* out of his Hold, but was fain to march off again, wasting the Countrey as he went.

Mean while there did a dangerous Conspiracy happen in *Sparta*, where 200 Men having gotten into a strong part of the Town called *Ifforion*, did seize upon the Temple of *Diana*, and garison it. The *Spartans* were enraged at it, and would have fallen upon them presently ; but *Agésilas* not knowing how far the Sedition might reach, did command them to forbear, and going himself in his Cloak, with but one Servant, when he came near the Rebels, called out, and told them, *That they mistook their Orders ; that by his Order they were to go, one part of them thither,*

*A dangerous Conspiracy in Sparta.*

ther, shewing them another Place in the City, and part to another, which he also shewed. The Conspirators gladly heard this Discourse, thinking themselves no way suspected of Treason, and readily went off to the Places which he shewed them. Whereupon *Agésilas* placed in their room a Garison of his own: of the Conspirators he apprehended 15. and put them to death in the night.

Another.

After this, a much more dangerous Conspiracy was discovered of *Spartan* Citizens, who had privately met in each others Houses, to cause a Disturbance. It was equally dangerous, by reason of the Greatness of the Party, to prosecute them publicly according to Law, and to connive at them. *Agésilas* took another course, and by Consent of the *Ephori*, put them to death privately without Process; a thing never before known in *Sparta*.

The Helots run from their Co-ours.

At this time also many of the *Helots*, and other Hirelings, that were listd in the Army, ran away to the Enemy, which was matter of great Consternation to the City. He therefore caused some Officers of his, every Morning before day, to search the Quarters of the Souldiers, and, where any Man was gone, to hide his Arms, that so the greatness of the number might not appear.

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Historians differ about the time of the *Thebans* Departure from *Sparta*. Some say, the Winter forced them; as also that the *Arcadian* Souldiers Disbanding, made it necessary for the rest to retire. Others say, that they stay'd there 3 months, till they had laid the whole Countrey waste. *Theopompus* is the only Author who gives out, That when the *Beotarchie*, or Council of War of the *Theban* Army, had resolved upon the Retreat, *Phrixus*, the *Spartan*, came to them, and offer'd them from *Agésilas*, 10 Talents to be gone, so hiring them to do, what they were already doing of their own accord. How he alone should come to be aware of this, I know not; only in this all Authors agree, That the saving of *Sparta* from Ruine, was wholly due to the Wisdom of *Agésilas*, who in this Extremity of Affairs quitted all his Ambition and his Haughtiness, and resolved to play a saving Game. But all his Wisdom and Prowess was not sufficient to recover the Glory of it, and to raise it to its ancient Greatness. For as we see in Bodies, long used to strict and too exquisitely regular Diet, if they commit any great Disorder, it is usually fatal; so in this City, which by the strictness of her Laws, and the severe Vertue, and great Conduct of her Leaders, had flourished so

The time of the Thebans Continuance before Sparta.

Sparta preserved by the wisdom of Agésilas.

so long, one great mistake in Policy undid all. Nor was this Fall wholly undeserved, since they so much swerved from the Institutions of *Lycurgus*, to which their Ancestors were sworn, who had formed a Republick, wholly fitted to the Ease, and Peace, and vertuous Life of the Inhabitants, so that they might have lived happily within themselves, without molesting their Neighbours, or seeking Dominion over them.

*Agessilaus* being now very aged, gave over all military Employments; but his Son *Archidamus*, having received Help from *Dionysius* of *Sicily*, did give a great Overthrow to the *Arcadians*, in a Fight remarkably known by the Name of *The tearless Battel*, wherein there was a great Slaughter of the Enemy, without the loss of one *Spartan*. This Victory did but too much discover the present Weakness of *Sparta*; for heretofore Victory was esteemed so usual a thing with them, that for their greatest Successes, they seldom sacrificed any more than a *Cock* to the Gods. Neither were the Souldiers much elated at the News when it came: yea, when the great Victory was obtained at *Mantineæ*, which is at large described by *Thucydides*, the Messenger that brought the News, had no other Reward, than a good piece

The Arcadians  
beaten by Archidamus, Son  
to Agessilaus.

piece of powdered Beef sent him to his Lodgings. But at the News of this *Arcadian* Victory, they were not able to contain themselves; but the old King went out in Procession with Tears of Joy in his Eyes, to meet and embrace his Son, and all the Council attended him. The old Men and Women all marched out as far as the River *Eurotas*, lifting up their Hands, and thanking the Gods, that they had washed off the Stain that had lately stuck upon *Sparta*, saying, *That now they could boldly appear in the Face of the Sun, who before out of Shame and Confusion could not appear even to their own Wives.*

When *Epaminondas* rebuilt *Messene*, and recalled the ancient Citizens to it, they were not able to obstruct the Design, being not in condition of appearing in the Field against them. But the *Spartans* were very much offended with *Agessilaus*, when they found so large a Territory, equal to their own in Compass, and for Fertility the richest of all *Greece*, taken from them in his Reign. Therefore it was that the King broke off Treaty with the *Thebans*, when they offered him Peace, rather than set his Hand to the passing away of that Countrey, though it was already taken from him. Which Punctilio of Honour had like to have cost him dear; for

Messene rebuilt by Epaminondas.

Epaminondas  
his Stratagem  
again? Sparta

for in the progress of the War he was over-reached by a Stratagem, which had almost amounted to the loss of *Sparta*. For when the *Mantineans* again revolted from *Thebes* to *Sparta*; and *Epaminondas* understood that *Agésilas* was come to their Assistance with a powerful Army, he privately in the night quit his Quarters at *Tegea*, and unknown to the *Mantineans*, marched towards *Sparta*, insomuch that he failed very little of taking it empty and unarmed. Of this *Agésilas* having Intelligence sent him by *Euthymus* the *Theſſian*, ſaith *Callisthenes*, but by some *Cretan*, ſaith *Xenophon*, immediately diſpatched a Poſt to *Lacedæmon*, to advertiſe them of it, and withal to let them know, that he was haſtening to them. He did it with that Expedition, that he prevented the *Thebans*, who came over *Eurotas* after he was in the Town. They notwithstanding made an Aſſault upon the Town, and were received by *Agésilas* with great Courage, he beſtirring himſelf much beyond what was to be expected in his years. For he did not now fight with that Caution and Cunning which he formerly made uſe of, but put all upon a deſperate push; which (though not his uſual method) ſucceeded ſo well, that he reſcued the City out of the Jaws of

He is beaten  
back by Agesi-  
laus.

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*Epaminondas*, and forced him to retire. This Action deſerved a Trophy, and had one; at the erection of which, *Agésilas* encouraged the Citizens, by ſhewing them how well they had paid their Debt to their Countrey in this Action, and particularly took notice of the great Performances of his Son *Archidamus*, who had that day made himſelf illuſtrious, both by his Courage and Agility of Body, ſpeedily ſhifting Places to all the dangerous Paſſes, where the Enemy preſſed hardeſt into the Town, every where charging the Enemy, though with but few in his Company. But the grand Example of an heroic Valour was given by *Iſadas*, the Son of *Phebidas*, to the Admiration of the Enemy, as well as of his Friends. He was a very comely, handſom, well grown, proper Youth, juſt beginning to write Man. He had no Arms upon him, ſcarce Cloaths; he had juſt anointed himſelf at home, when upon the Alarm, without further Ceremony, in that Undreſs, he ſnatched a Spear in one hand, and a Sword in the other, and brake into the thickeſt of his Enemies, bearing down all before him. He received no Wound, whether that he were the particular Care of God, who rewarded his Valour with an extraordinary Protection, or whether his Shape being

The great Ex-  
plicit of Ar-  
chidamus.

Greater of Iſa-  
das.

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so large and beautiful, and his Dress so unusual, they thought him more than a Man. The gallantry of the Action was so esteemed among the *Spartans*, that the *Ephori* gave him a Garland; but as soon as they had done, they fined him a 1000 Drachms, for going out to Battel unarmed.

A few days after this, there was another Battel fought near *Mantineia*, where in *Epaminondas* having routed the Van of the *Lacedæmonians*, was eager in the pursuit of them, when *Anticrates*, the *Laconian*, wounded him with a Spear, saith *Dioscorides*; but the *Spartans* to this day call the Posterity of this *Anticrates*, \* Sword-men, because that he wounded *Epaminondas* with a Sword. They so dreaded *Epaminondas*, when living, that the Slayer of him was embraced and admired by all; nay, they decreed Honours to him and his Posterity, to which latter they gave immunity from all manner of Taxes: this Privilege, *Callicrates*, one of his Descendants, now enjoyeth.

*Epaminondas* being slain, there was a general Peace again concluded, from which *Agésilau's* Party excluded the *Messenians*, as Men that had no City, and therefore would not let them swear to the League; to which when the rest of the

He is both rewarded and amerced.

*Epaminondas* slain.

\* Machætiotes.

the *Greeks* admitted them, the *Lacedæmonians* went off, and continued the War alone, in hopes of subduing the *Messenians*. For this Reason was *Agésilau* esteemed a stubborn, refractory Man, and insatiable of War, who took such pains to hinder the League, and to protract the War, at a time when he had not Money wherewith to carry it on, but was forced to borrow of the Citizens, and to oppress them with heavy Taxes, and all this to retrieve the poor City of *Messenia*, after he had lost so great an Empire both by Sea and Land, as the *Spartans* were possessed of, when he came to the Crown.

*Agésilau* too much given to War.

But it did more move the Indignation of all Men, when he put himself into the Service of *Tachos* the *Egyptian*. They thought it too too much unworthy of a Man of his Quality, who was then looked upon as the prime Commander in all *Greece*, who had filled all Countreys with his Renown, to let himself out to Hire to a *Barbarian*, an *Egyptian* Rebel, (for *Tachos* was no better) and to fight for Pay, as Captain only of a Band of Mercenaries. If at those years of eighty and odd, after his Body had been worn out with Age, and enfeebled with Wounds, he had engaged in some very honourable Cause, as the Liberty of *Greece*, or the like, it had

He taketh Pay of *Tachos* in *Egypt*.

been however worthy of some Reproof, To make an Action honourable, it ought to be agreeable to the Age, and other Circumstances of the Person ; for it is Circumstance that doth difference the Action, and make it either good or bad. But *Agesilaus* valued not other mens Discourses ; he thought no publick Employment dishonourable ; the ignoblest thing in his esteem was for a Man to sit idle and resty at home, till Death should come and take him napping. The Money therefore that he received from *Tachos*, he laid out in raising of Men, wherewith having filled his Ships, he took also 30 *Spartan* Captains with him, as formerly he had done in his *Asiatick* Expedition, and set Sail for *Aegypt*.

As soon as he arrived at *Aegypt*, all the great Officers of the Kingdom came to pay their Complements to him at his Landing. His Reputation, being so great, had rais'd the Expectation of the whole Countrey, which did flock in to see him ; but when they found, instead of the great Prince whom they looked for, a little old Man, of contemptible presence, without all Ceremony lying down upon the Grass, his Hair uncombed, his Cloaths threadbare, they fell into Laughter and Scorn of him, crying out, that the old Proverb was

The Egyptians disappointed in *Agesilaus*, as to the appearance of his outward Person.

was now made good, *The Mountain had brought forth a Mouse*. They were much more scandalized at his Stupidity, (as they thought it ) who, when Presents were made of all manner of Provisions, took only the Meal, the Calves, and the Geese, but rejected the Sweet meats, the Confections and Perfumes : when they did urge him to the acceptance of them, he took them and gave them to the *Helots* that were in his Army ; yet he was taken with the Garlands they made of the \* *Papyrus*, because of their native Simplicity, and when he returned homewards, he demanded one of the King, which he carried with him.

\* An Egyptian Plant, of which Paper was made.

When he joyned with *Tachos*, he found his Expectation of being Generalissimo frustrated : *Tachos* reserved that Place for himself, making *Agesilaus* only Captain of the Band of *Mercenaries*, and *Chabrias* the *Athenian* Admiral. This was the first occasion of his Discontent ; but there followed others : he (being daily tired with the Insolency and Vanity of this *Aegyptian*) was at length forced to attend on him into *Phœnicia*, in a condition much below his Spirit and Dignity, which notwithstanding he was forced to digest for a while, till he had opportunity of shewing his Resentment. It was soon afforded

*Agesilaus* discontented in *Aegypt*.

He revolts to  
Nectanabis  
from Tachos.

him by *Nectanabis*, the Uncle of *Tachos*, and a great Captain under him, who took an occasion to fall off from his Nephew, and was soon proclaimed King by the *Egyptians*. This Man invited *Agésilas* to his Party, and the like he did to *Chabrias*, offering great Rewards to both. *Tachos* having smelt it, did immediately apply himself both to *Agésilas* and *Chabrias*, with great Humility to them both, beseeching their continuance in his Friendship. *Chabrias* consented to it, and did what he could to sweeten *Agésilas* in the matter: but he gave this short Reply, *You, O Chabrias, came hither a Voluntier, and may go and stay as you see cause; but I am the Servant of Sparta, sent hither on their Errand, and must take my Measures from them.* This being said, he soon dispatched Messengers to *Sparta*, who were sufficiently instructed both in the Accusations of *Tachos*; and the Commendations of *Nectanabis*. The two *Egyptians* did also send their Ambassadors to *Lacedæmon*, the one to claim Continuance of the old League already made; the other to make great Offers for the breaking of it, and making a new one. The *Spartans*, having heard both sides, gave in their publick Answer, *That they referred the whole Matter to Agésilas; but privately wrote to him,*

him,

him, to act as he should find it best for the Profit of the Commonweath. Upon receipt of his Orders, he soon changed sides, carrying all the *Mercenaries* with him to *Nectanabis*, prefacing so foul an Action, with the plausible pretence of acting for the Benefit of his Country, whereas the fine Veil being taken off, the Fact was no better than downright Treachery. But the *Lacedæmonians*, who make it the first Principle of their Actions to serve their Countrey, know not any thing to be just or unjust by any Measures but that.

*Tachos* being thus deserted by the *Mercenaries*, fled for it. Upon which one *Mendesius* being designed his Successor, arose and came against *Nectanabis* with an Army of an 100000 Men. *Nectanabis* in his Discourse with *Agésilas*, despised them as new raised Men, who, though many in number, were of no skill in War, being most of them Handicrafts-men and Trades-men, never bred to War. To whom *Agésilas* answered, *That he despised their numbers, but was afraid of their Ignorance, which gave no room for treating them by Fineness and Stratagem; for those are to be used only with cunning and crafty men, who, being themselves full of Design, and suspicious alway of yours, do give opportunity of putting Tricks upon them; but a Fool-hardy man,*

*Tachos flyeth.*

*Nectanabis is  
opposed by Men-  
desius.*

man, that neither seeth nor feareth any thing, giveth no more opportunity to the Enemy, than he that stands stock-still without putting out his Leg, giveth to a Wrestler. This Mendefius was not wanting in the Solicitations of Agesilaus, insomuch that Nectanabis grew jealous. But when Agesilaus advised to fight the Enemy, presently before either their Skill or their Numbers increased; it being imprudent to protract a War with such men, who (rude and inexperienced as they were) would so increase in numbers, as wholly to encompass them, and prevent their Designs. This confirmed him in his Jealousie, and made him take the quite contrary course, retreating into a strong Garison, well fortifi'd with Walls and Bulwarks. Agesilaus finding himself mistrusted, took it very ill, and was full of Indignation, yet was ashamed to change Sides again, the other having been so lately done; so that he was forced to follow Nectanabis into the Town.

When Mendefius came up, and began to draw a Line about the Town, and to intrench, the Egyptian was resolving upon a Battel, thinking it much safer, than to be begirt round with a Ditch, and so starved out in a long Siege. The Greeks were also of that mind, the Provisions growing already scarce in the Town.

When

When Agesilaus opposed it, the Egyptians then suspected him much more, publicly calling him, *The Betrayer of the King*. But Agesilaus (being now satisfi'd within himself) did bear all these Reproaches patiently, and follow'd the Design close which he had laid, of over-reaching the Enemy, which was this:

The Enemy had intrenched with a deep Ditch and high Wall, resolving to shut up the King and starve him. When the Ditch was brought almost quite round, he took the Advantage of the Night, and armed all his Greeks. Then, going to the King, *This, young Man, is your opportunity, said he, of saving your self, which I durst not all this while discover, lest the discovery should prevent it; but now the Enemy hath, at his own cost, and the pains and labour of his own Men, provided for our security. As much of this Wall as is built, will prevent them from surrounding us with their Multitude, the Gap yet left will be sufficient for us to sally out by: now play the Man, and follow the Example the Greeks will give you, and by fighting valiantly, save your self and your Army; their Front will not be able to stand against us, and their Rear we are sufficiently secured from, by a Wall of their own making. Nectanabis admiring the Wisdom of Agesilaus, immediately pla-*

Agesilaus's  
Stratagem  
against Mendefius.

Agesilaus's  
Advice maketh  
him suspected  
by Nectanabis.

Nectanabis  
being besieged,  
resolveth to  
fight, but is op-  
posed by Age-  
silaus.

placed himself in the *Grecian* Army, and fought with them ; which upon the first Charge soon routed the Enemy. *Agefilaus*, having now gotten Credit with the King, began to use what Stratagems he thought good, without being interrupted by him : he sometimes pretended a Retreat, otherwhile charged furiously, by this means disordering the Enemy, and at last trolling him into a Place enclosed between two Ditches, that were very deep, and full of Water. When he had them at this Advantage, he soon charged them, drawing up the Front of his Battel equal to the space between the two Ditches, so that they had no way of surrounding him, being enclosed themselves on both sides. They made but little Resistance ; many fell, others fled and were dispersed.

*Nectanabis* being thus settled and fixed in his Kingdom, did with much Kindness and Earnestness invite *Agefilaus* to spend his Winter in *Aegypt* : but he made haste home, to assist in the Wars of his own Country, whose Treasury he knew to be empty, yet were they forced to hire *Mercenaries*, whilst their own Men were fighting abroad. The King dismissed him very honourably, and among other Presents, he presented the State of *Sparta* with 230

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Talents of Silver, towards the Charge of their Wars : but the Winter-season being tempestuous, he was driven upon a desert Shore of *Africa*, called *The Haven of Menelaus*, where when his Ships were just upon Landing, he expired, being then 88 years old, and having reigned in *Lacedemon* 41. 30 of which years he passed in great Splendor, being esteemed the greatest and most powerful Prince of all *Greece*, and being looked on as in a manner General and King of it, till the Battel of *Leuctra*. It was the Custom of the *Spartans*, to bury their common dead in the Place where they died, whatsoever Countrey it was, but their Kings they embalmed, and carried home. Now the Followers of *Agefilaus*, having not wherewith to embalm him, did, for want of Honey, which they used in their Embalming, wrap his Body in Wax, and so conveyed him to *Lacedemon*.

His Son *Archidamus* succeeded him in his Throne, so did his Posterity successively to *Agis*, who was the 5th. from *Agefilaus*. He was murdered by *Leonidas*, for seeking to restore the ancient Discipline of *Sparta*.

T H E

The Mendefians conquered.

And dieth by the way.

The manner of his Embalming.

Agefilaus departs homeward.

CN. POMPEIVS MAGNV



THE  
LIFE  
OF  
POMPEY.

Translated out of the Greek,  
By William Oldys, LL.D.

THE People of Rome seem to have embraced Pompey from his Childhood, with the same Affection that Prometheus in the Tragedy of Æschylus expressed for Hercules, speaking of him, as the Author of his Deliverance, in these words,

*Ab cruel Sire ! how dear's thy Son to me !  
The generous Off-spring of my Enemy !*

For

§. 1

The Peoples  
Hate to his Fa-  
ther.

For on one hand, never did the Romans give such a demonstration of their Hatred (a Hatred so implacable and savage against any of their Generals, as they did against *Strabo*, the Father of *Pompey*. All his Life-time, 'tis true, they stood in awe of his martial Prowess and Power, (indeed he was a mighty Warrior) but immediately upon his Death, (which hapned by a Stroke of Thunder) they treated him barbarously, dragging his very Corps from the Herse, as it was carried in Pomp at his Funeral, with Villainy and Disgrace. On the other side, in favour of *Pompey*, never had any Roman Peoples Good-will and Devotion more zealous throughout all the Changes of Fortune, either springing up earlier, and aspiring together with him in Prosperity, or so constantly loyal in Adversity, as *Pompey* had. In *Strabo*, there was a great Cause of Hatred, his unsatiableness; but in *Pompey*, there was many, whereby he became the Object of their Love; his Temperance of Life, Study and Exercise in Martial Discipline, Elocution of Speech, Integrity of Mind, and Affability in Conversation and Address, inasmuch as no Man ever made his Addressee with lesser Trouble, or gratified his Addressor with more Delight: for

Their Love to  
him.

His Vertues.

Presents, when he gave, 'twas without Disdain; when he receiv'd, 'twas with Reverence and Honour.

In his Youth, he had a Grace in his Countenance extremely taking, seeming to anticipate his Eloquence, and win upon the Affections of the People before he spoke; for in his Air there was a majestick Gravity, temper'd with no less Candor and Humanity: and when as yet he was but in the Flower and Dawn of his Manhood, there appear'd in his Deportment a sage and princely Genius, even in its Meridian. His Hair sat somewhat hollow or rising a little: and the languishing motion of his Eyes, seem'd to form a resemblance in his Face, (though perhaps more through the speech of People, than real likeness) to the Statues of King *Alexander*: now because many call'd him by that Name in his Youth, *Pompey* himself did not decline it, inasmuch that some in derision call'd him so; yet even *Lucius Philippus*, a Man of Consular Dignity, when he was pleading in favour of him, thought it not unfit to say, *That there was nothing absurd or unexpected in this, that he himself being Philip, should be a Lover of Alexander.*

'Tis reported of *Flora* the Curtezan, That in her latter time she took great delight

His Amours  
with *Flora*.

'Asinus.

light in relating her Amours and Familiarity with *Pompey*, and was wont to say That she could never part upon an Enjoyment, without a Bite, or Satyirical Reflection. And withal she would farther tell you, That one *Geminus*, a great Companion of *Pompey's*, fell in Love with her, and made his Court with all the Arts imaginable; but she refusing, and telling him, Howere her Inclinations were, yet she could not gratifie his Desires for *Pompey's* sake: he therefore mov'd *Pompey* in it, and *Pompey* frankly gave his Consent, but never afterwards would touch her, or have any Converse with her, notwithstanding he seem'd to have a great Passion for her; which *Flora* resented, not with the Levity of a Strumpet; for that she languish'd afterwards under a tedious Sicknes through Grief and Desire. Now 'twas said, That this *Flora* became such a celebrated Beauty, that *Cecilius Metellus*, when he adorn'd the Temples of *Castor* and *Polux* with divers rare Pictures and Images, among the rest he dedicated hers for her singular Beauty. But *Pompey* was quite besides his natural Temper, in his Deportment towards the Wife of *Demetrius*, his franchis'd Servant, ( who had a great Influence upon him in his Life-time, and left an Estate of 4000 Talents ) where he

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demean'd himself neither gentily nor ingeniously, fearing lest he should fall under the common Censure, of being enamour'd and charm'd with her Beauty, which was incomparable, and became famous every where. Thus though herein he seem'd to be providently circumspect and cautious, yet even in Scandals of this nature, he could not avoid the Calumnies of his Enemies, but that upon the score of Women, his Wives at least, they play'd the Sycophants with him, and accus'd him, as if he had conniv'd at many things, and imbezil'd the publick Revenue to gratifie their Luxury.

Then for his Sobriety, and Temperance *His Temperance* in Diet, there was one remarkable Passage in his Sicknes; when his Stomach nauseated common Meats, his Physician prescrib'd him a *Thrush* to eat; but upon search there was none to be bought (for they were not then in season) and one telling him, they were to be had at *Lucullus's*, who kept them all the year round: *Why then*, said he, *if it were not for Lucullus's Luxury, should not Pompey live?* Thereupon wishing Health to his Physician, he discharg'd him, and accepted of what was in season. But of that hereafter.

G

Now



Now *Pompey* being as yet a very young Man, and upon an Expedition, (in which his Father was appointed General against *Cinna*) had in his Tent with him one *Terentius*, his Companion and Camerado, who, being corrupted by *Cinna*, enter'd into an Engagement to kill *Pompey*, as others had done to set the General's Tent on Fire. This Conspiracy being discovered to *Pompey* at Supper, he seem'd no ways discompos'd at it, but drank more liberally than usual, and express'd an extraordinary Kindness to *Terentius*; then about Bed-time (pretending to go to his Repose) he stole away secretly out of his own Tent, and setting a Guard about his Father, went to his Rest: *Terentius* now thinking his Enterprize ripe for execution, rose with his naked Sword, and coming to *Pompey's* Bed-side, stabb'd several Strokes through the Bed-cloaths, as if he were lying there. Immediately upon this there was a great Uproar throughout all the Camp, arising from the Hatred they bore to the General, and an universal inclination of the Souldiers to Mutiny, all tearing down their Tents, and betaking themselves to their Arms; the General himself all this while durst not venture out because of the Tumult, but *Pompey* running into the midst of them, beseech'd them

them with Tears, and at last threw himself prostrate upon his Face before the door of the Trench, and lay there in the Passage as a Bar at their Feet, bewailing his Fate, and bidding those that were marching off, if they would go, to trample upon him: whereupon every man began to retreat, and all, except 800. either through Shame or Compassion, repented of their Folly, and were reconcil'd to the General.

Immediately upon the Death of *Strabo*, Action peculatus. there was an Action commenc'd against *Pompey* as his Heir, for that his Father had imbezil'd the publick Treasure: but *Pompey* having well trac'd the Thief, charg'd it upon one *Alexander*, a franchis'd Bondslave of his Fathers, and made an undoubted Evidence before the Judges, that he had purloin'd and converted it to his own Use. Afterwards he himself was arraign'd, for that he had seiz'd upon the Toils, or hunting Tackle, and Books, that were taken at *Asculum*. To this he confess'd thus far, That he receiv'd them from his Father when he took *Asculum*, but pleaded farther, That he had lost them since, which happen'd upon *Cinna's* Return to *Rome*, when his House was broke open and plunder'd by those of his Guards. This Cause was notably managed with

his Adversary in the Preparatories of Judgment, in which he appearing strangely subtil and industrious beyond his years gain'd great Reputation and Favour ; in-  
 somuch that *Antistius*, the Prætor and Judge of that Cause, took a great Liking to *Pompey*, and offer'd him his Daughters in Marriage, having had some Treaties and Communications with his Friends about it. *Pompey* accepted of the Conditions, and they were privately contracted together in Marriage : however this Matter was not so closely convey'd, as to escape the Multitude, but it was discernible enough, from the Favours that were shewn to him by *Antistius* in his Cause. Whereupon at last, when *Antistius* pronounc'd the absolatory Sentence of the Judges, the People (as if it had been upon a Signal given) made the same Acclamation as was anciently us'd at Marriages *Talassio* : the original of which Custom is reported to be this : Upon a time when the Daughters of the *Sabines* came to *Rome*, to see the Shews and Sports there and were violently seiz'd upon by the Nobles for Wives, it happen'd that some Goatswains and Herdsmen of the meanest Rank, were carrying off a beautiful and proper Damosel, and lest any of the Nobles should meet them, and take her away

He marries  
 with Antistia.

way

way, therefore as they ran, they cry'd out with one voice, *Talassio* : Now *Talassius* was an eminent and acceptable Person among them, inasmuch as all that heard the Name, clapp'd their Hands for joy, and joyn'd with them in the Shout, as applauding and congratulating the Choice ; now, say they, (because that prov'd a fortunate Match to *Talassius*) hence 'tis that this Acclamation is jocularly us'd as a Nuptial Song at all Weddings. And this is the most credible Story that I can meet with touching what is related of *Talassio*.

Some few days after this Judgement, *Pompey* married *Antistia*, and after that went to *Cinna's* Camp, where finding some false Suggestions and Calumnies forg'd against him, he began to be afraid, and presently withdrew himself in disguise from the Camp ; this sudden Disappearance occasion'd great Jealousies, and there went a Rumour and Speech throughout all the Camp, as if *Cinna* had murder'd the young Man ; whereupon all that had been any ways disoblig'd, and bore any Malice to him, resolv'd to make an Assault upon him : but he endeavouring to make his Escape, was apprehended by a *Centurion*, that pursu'd him with his naked Sword ; wherefore *Cinna* in

*Cinna's Death.*

this Distress fell upon his Knees, and offer'd him a Seal of great value for his Ransom ; but the *Centurion* checked him very insolently, saying, *I come not here to seal a Covenant, but to chastise and be reveng'd upon the Iniquity of a lawless and ungodly Tyrant ;* and so dispatch'd him immediately.

## §. 2.

*Carbo and Sylla contend for the Government*

Thus *Cinna* being slain, *Carbo*, a Tyrant more senseless than he, took the Administration of the Government, and all things upon him. But shortly after came *Sylla*, a Man by reason of these imminent Evils desir'd of most, but especially of those who plac'd no small ease and satisfaction in the exchange of a Master: for the City was brought to that pass by those grievous Oppressions and Calamities, that every Man now being utterly in despair of Liberty, was compounding for himself and laying out for the mildest and most tolerable Bondage. About that time *Pompey* was at \* *Picenum* in Italy, where he had spent some time in his Diversion, for that he had a Countrey-Inheritance there though the chiefest Motive of his Abode in that Countrey, was the Delight he took in the Cities thereabouts, where his whole Family was nobly received, and treated with all the Offices of Humanity for his Fathers sake.

\* Now the Marches of Ancona.

Not

Now when *Pompey* perceived, that the noblest and best of the City began to forsake their Fortunes, and fly from all Quarters to *Sylla's* Camp, as to their Haven, he design'd likewise thither among the rest, yet he disdain'd to go as a Fugitive without a Passport, or for Protection as one destitute of Aid, but like one rather that could make his own Welcome, and merit Favour gloriously and with force. And to that end, he mov'd and solicited the *Peicentines* for their Assistance, who as cordially embrac'd his Motion, and rejected those that were sent from *Carbo*; inasmuch that one *Vindius*, a malepert Fellow of that Faction, taking upon him to say, *That Pompey was come with a Speech out of School, to make himself a Captain of the People : they were so incens'd against him, that immediately they fell upon this Vindius, and slew him.* From henceforward *Pompey* finding a Spirit of Government upon him, though as yet not above 23 years of Age, nor yet deriving an Authority by Commission from any superiour Magistrate, took the privilege to grant himself a full Power and Jurisdiction ; and in order to that, he caus'd a Tribunal or Court of Judicature to be erected in the Market-place of *Auximum*, a populous City ; now it hapned that two of the chiefest among

*He sides with Sylla.*

G 4

them,

them (the *Ventidians*, Brethren) of *Carbo's* Faction, were grand Opposers of his Designs, those he banish'd instantly commanding them by a publick Edict to depart the City. Then he fell to levying an Army, issuing out Commissions to Serjeants of Bands, Centurions, and other Officers, according to the form of Military Discipline: and in this manner he went round, and modell'd all the rest of the Cities in the same Circuit; so that of all those that were Favourers of *Carbo's* Faction, some vanishing away, and others chearfully surrendring themselves, in a little time he muster'd up three entire Legions, having suppli'd himself beside with all manner of Provisions, Ammunition, Beasts, Carriages, and all other Implements of War. And in this Equipage he set forwards on his March towards *Sylla*, not with Whip and Spur, as if he were in haste, nor yet in a Cloud, as if he coveted to be conceal'd, but by small Journeys, making several Halts upon the Road, to distress and annoy the Enemy, designing to insinuate himself in every part of *Italy* where e're he came, and to work them into a Revolt and Defection from *Carbo*.

Now there arose together against him three great Commanders of the Enemy, *Carinna*, *Calpurnius*, and *Brutus*, and drew up their

their Forces, not all in the Front, nor yet together on any one part, but encamping three several Armies in a Circle about him, they resolv'd to encompass and devour him at once; *Pompey* was no ways amaz'd at this, but drawing up all his Forces into one Body, and placing his Horse in the Front of the Battel, where he himself was in Person, he singl'd out and bent all his Forces against *Brutus*; now the Enemies Horse, consisting chiefly of *Gauls*, made the first Charge, which *Pompey* receiv'd, and as readily return'd it; for he himself encountring hand to hand with one of the foremost and stoutest among them, made a home-Pass at him with his Launce, and slew him: the rest seeing this, turn'd their Backs, and fled in great Disorder, falling foul upon themselves, and breaking the Ranks of their own Foot, insomuch that it presently caus'd a total Rout; whereupon the Commanders fell out among themselves, and every one march'd off, steering their Course some one way, some another, as their Fortunes led them: the Towns likewise round about came in, and surrendred themselves to *Pompey*, concluding that the Enemy was dispers'd for fear. Next after these came *Scipio* the Consul to attack him, and with as little Success; for before the Armies could joyn,

joyn, or be within the Throw of their Darts, *Scipio's* Souldiers saluted *Pompey's*, and came over to them, but *Scipio* made his Escape by Flight. Last of all, *Carbo* himself sent down divers Regiments of Horse by the River *Arfis*, which *Pompey* assail'd with the same Courage and Success as those before; for having routed and put them to Flight, he forc'd them in the pursuit upon moorish and boggy Places, altogether unpassable for Horse, where seeing no Hopes of Escape, they cry'd out Quarter, yielding themselves, Horse and Armour, all to his Mercy.

*Sylla* was hitherto unacquainted with all this Action; but as soon as he had Intelligence of his Engagements, he seem'd extremely concern'd, fearing lest *Pompey* should be circumvented and oppress'd by so many and such experienc'd Commanders of the Enemy, whereupon he march'd with all speed to his Aid. Now *Pompey* having advice of his Approach, sent out Orders to his Officers for a Campaign, commanding them to marshal and draw up all his Forces in Battel array, that they might appear in the greatest Order and Bravery before their Emperor, for that he expected indeed great Honours from him, but he met with greater; for as soon as *Sylla* saw him thus advancing, his Army

so

so well appointed, and such goodly Men, adorn'd and eievated with all the Glories of Youth and Victory, he alighted from his Horse, and being first (as became him) saluted by the Title of Emperor, he return'd the Salutation upon *Pompey*, in the same term and style of Emperor, contrary to the Expectations of all that were present, who little dream'd that he would have imparted such an honourable Title to one of no greater Age, nor yet a Senator, especially considering how desperately he himself had contended for that very Title and Dignity, against the Factions of *Scipio* and *Marius*. And indeed all the rest of his Deportment was agreeable to his first Complements; for when e're *Pompey* came into his presence, he did some sort of Obeisance to him, either in rising and being uncover'd, or the like, which he was rarely seen to have done to any of the rest of his Nobles, notwithstanding there were divers others about him of great Quality and Honour. Yet was not *Pompey* puff'd up at all, or exalted with these Favours: and therefore when *Sylla* would have sent him with all expedition into *Gallia Celtica*, a Province under the Government of *Metellus*, for that 'twas thought *Metellus* had done nothing memorable, at leastwise worthy of that

*Ἀυτοκράτωρ,*  
Imperator.

*Sent in Aid to*  
*Metellus.*

that great Army he commanded there. *Pompey* reply'd as modestly, *That it could never be thought fair or honourable for him, to extort a Province out of the hands of an ancient Captain, and one of far greater Fame and Experience than himself, however if Metellus were willing and would command his Service, he should be very ready to accompany and assist him in the War.* Which when *Metellus* came to understand, he approv'd of the Motion, and accordingly invited him over by Letter. Whereupon *Pompey* fell immediately like Lightning into *Gaul*, where he did not only do wonderful Exploits of himself, but also blew up and kindled anew that bold and warlike Spirit, which old Age had in a manner extinguish'd in *Metellus*, having the same operation with molten or boyling Copper, which being pour'd upon that that is cold and solid, seems to dissolve and melt it faster than Fire it self. But I must observe the same course here as is done with a famous Wrestler, who though he has excelled all Men in those Games even from his youth, and always born away the Prize with Glory, yet 'tis not usual to account of his childish Victories, or enter them upon record among the rest: so for the Exploits of *Pompey* in his Minority, though they were brave in themselves,

yet

yet because they were obscur'd and buri'd in the multitude and greatness of his latter Wars and Conquests, I dare not be particular in them, lest by trifling away time in the lesser moments of his Youth, I should casually omit those grander Actions and Enterprizes, which best discover the natural Disposition and singular Genius of the Man.

Now when *Sylla* had brought all *Italy* under his Dominion, and was proclaim'd Dictator, he began to reward the rest of his Followers, (enriching all his Captains and other Officers) whereof some he advanc'd to Honour, others to Places of Dignity and Profit in the Commonwealth, largely and liberally gratifying every Man according to his Talent and Desire. But for *Pompey*, he was a great Admirer of his Valour and Conduct, and thinking that he might prove a great Stay and Support to him hereafter in all his Affairs, sought by all means to espouse and joyn him in Alliance to him, and having likewise the Approbation of his Wife *Metella*, they perswaded him to put away *Antistia*, and marry *Æmylia*, (the Daughter-in-law of *Sylla*, by *Metella*, and *Scaurus* her former Husband) she being at that very time the Wife of another Man, cohabiting with him, and with Child by him.

These

Antistia divorced.

He marries Æmylia.

These were the very Tyrannies of Marriage, and much more agreeable to the Times under *Sylla*, than to the Nature and Genius of *Pompey*, That *Æmylia* great with Child should be, as it were, ravish'd from the Embraces of another for him; and that *Antistia* should be divorc'd with Dithonour and Misery by him, for whose sake she had but just before been bereft of her Father; to be at once both a Widow and Fatherless by his means; for her Father *Antistius* was murder'd in the Senate, because he was suspected to be a Favourite of *Sylla* for *Pompey's* sake; and her Mother likewise, after she had seen all these Indignities, made away with her self. These were the Tragedies that attended that unhappy Marriage, and that there might be nothing wanting to complete the last Act, by Heavens! even *Æmylia* her self not long after dy'd at *Pompey's* in Child-bed.

§. 3.

About this time an Express came to *Sylla*, That *Perpenna* had possessed himself of *Sicily*, whereby that Isle was now become a Refuge and Receptacle for the Reliques of the adverse Party: That *Carbo* was hovering about those Seas with a Navy: That *Domitius* was fallen in upon *Africa*; and that many other likewise of the Nobles and great Men in Exile, think

ing

ing to avoid his Proscriptions or Outlawries by Flight, were daily flocking into those Parts. Against these therefore was *Pompey* sent with a great Army; and no sooner was he arrived in *Sicily*, but *Perpenna* departed thence, leaving the whole Island to him. Wherefore *Pompey* received the distressed Cities into Favour, and treated all with great Humanity, except that of the *Mamertines* in *Messene*; for when they protested against his Court and Jurisdiction, alledging their Priviledg and Exemption founded upon an ancient Charter or Grant of the *Romans*, he replied as sharply, *What! will you ne'r leave prating of Laws to us that have Swords by our sides?* 'Tis thought likewise, That he shewed but little Humanity to *Carbo*, seeming rather to insult over his Misfortunes, than to chastize his Crime; for if there had been a necessity, (as perhaps there was) that he should be taken off, that might have been done at first, as soon as he was taken Prisoner, for then it would have been the Act of him that commanded it, and imputed to his Malice; but here *Pompey* commands a Man (that had been thrice Consul of *Rome*) to be brought in Fetters to the Bar, he himself sitting upon the Bench in Judgment, examining the Cause throughout all the Formalities of Law,

Law, and pronouncing Sentence of Death, as upon a common Malefactor, to the Grief and Indignation of all that were present, and afterwards he ordered him to be taken away and put to Death. Now 'tis reported of *Carbo*, That as soon as he was brought to the Scaffold, and saw the Sword drawn for Execution, it wrought so with him, that immediately he had a looseness or pain in his Belly, insomuch that he desired a little respite of the Executioner, and a convenient Place to ease himself. But yet farther, *C. Oppius*, a great Friend of *Cæsar's*, tells us, That *Pompey* dealt as barbarously with *Q. Valerius*, a Man of singular Learning, especially in Philology and Mathematicks few like him; for when he was brought to him, he walk'd aside and discours'd with him, and after a long Conference, and full Resolution of all his Questions, having learned what he could, he ordered his Officers to take him away, and put him to Death. But we must not be too credulous in all the Narratives of *Oppius*, especially when he undertakes to relate any thing touching the Friends or Foes of *Cæsar*: This is certain, That there lay a necessity upon *Pompey* to be severe upon many of *Sylla's* Enemies, those at leastwise that were eminent Persons in themselves,

and

and notoriously known to be taken; but for the rest, he dealt with them after his own natural Temper, conniving at the Concealment of some, and himself being the Instrument in the Escape of others. And the like Argument of his Clemency was shewn in the *Himeræans*; for when *Pompey* had determin'd a sharp Revenge upon their City, for that they had been stubborn Abettors of the Enemy, there stept out one *Sthenes*, a great Leader of the People there, and craving audience of *Pompey*, told him, That what he was about to do, was not at all consistent with Justice, for that he would pass by the Guilty, and destroy the Innocent: *Pompey* demanding, Who that guilty Person was that would father the Offences of them all? *Sthenes* replied, 'Twas himself, who had wrought upon and engaged his Friends by Persuasions, and his Enemies by Force: whereupon *Pompey* being much taken with the frank Speech and Boldness of the Man, first forgave him his Crime, and then pardoned all the rest of the *Himeræans*. *Pompey* likewise hearing, That his Souldiers were very disorderly in their March, doing Violence upon the Roads, he ordered their Swordsto be sealed up in their Scabbards, and whosoever kept them not so, were severely punished.

H

Whilst



Sent by Sylla  
into Africk a-  
gainst Domiti-  
us.

Whilst *Pompey* was thus busie in the Affairs and Government of *Sicily*, he received a Decree of the Senate, and a Commission from *Sylla*, commanding him forthwith to sail into *Africa*, and make War upon *Domitius* with all his Forces: for *Domitius* had rallied up a far greater Army than *Marinus* had not long since, when he sailed out of *Africa* into *Sicily*, and extremely distressed the Affairs of the *Romans*, being himself of a fugitive Outlaw, become a Tyrant. *Pompey* therefore having prepared all things of a sudden, and left *Memmius*, his Sisters Husband, Governour of *Sicily*, embarked and set sail with 120 Gallies, and 800 other Vessels, laden with Provisions, Money, Ammunition, Engines of Battery, and all other Necessaries. In this Equipage he arrived with his Fleet, part at the Port of *Utica*, part at *Carthage*; and no sooner was he landed there, but that 7000 of the Enemy revolted and came over to him, which besides his own Forces that he brought with him, (consisting of 6 entire Legions, made up an Army of 43000 Fighting-men. Here they tell us of a pleasant Passage that happened to him at his first Arrival, for that some of his Souldiers having by accident stumbled upon a Treasure, where by they got a good mass of Money: the

rest of the Army hearing this, began to fancy that the Field was full of Gold and Silver, which had been hid there of old by the *Carthaginians* in the time of their Calamities, and thereupon fell to work, so that the Army was useless to *Pompey* for many days, being totally engaged in the Silver-mines, he himself all the while walking up and down only, and laughing to see so many thousands together, digging and turning up the Earth in a fruitless Harvest: but at last growing weary and hopeless, they came to themselves, and returned to their General, begging him to lead them where he pleased, for that they had already reaped the just Reward of their Folly. By this time *Domitius* had prepared himself, and drawn out his Army in Battel-array against *Pompey*; but there happened to be a rapid Torrent in the Valley betwixt them, craggy and difficult to pass over, which together with a great Storm of Wind and Rain pouring down even from break of Day, seemed to shew but little possibility of their coming together: insomuch that *Domitius* not expecting any Engagement that day, commanded his Forces to draw off and retire to the Camp. Now *Pompey*, who was watchful upon every Occasion, taking this time to be appointed by

Fortune as his own, ordered a March forthwith, and having passed over the Torrent, they fell in immediately upon their Quarters. The Enemy was in a great Disorder and Tumult, and in that Confusion attempted a Resistance; but they neither were all there, nor yet together; besides, the Wind having veered about, lay beating the Rain full in their Faces. Neither indeed was the Storm less troublesom to the Romans, for that they could not clearly discern one another, in so much that even Pompey himself, being unknown, escaped but narrowly; for when one of his Souldiers demanded of him the Word of Battel, it happened that he was somewhat slow in his Answer, which might have cost him his Life.

The Enemy being thus routed with a great Slaughter, (for 'tis said, that of 20000 there escaped but 3000) the Army saluted Pompey by the Name of Emperor; but he declined it, telling them, *That he could not by any means accept of that Title, as long as he saw any of the Forts or Garrisons of the Enemy standing, but if they designed to make him worthy of the Honour, they must first demolish the Camp wherein they lay intrenched.* The Souldiers hearing this, went presently and made an Assault upon the Works and Trenches, and there Pom-

pey fought without his Helmet in memory of his former Danger, and to avoid it; the Camp being thus taken by Storm they were put to the Sword, and among the rest *Domitius* was slain upon the Place; After that Overthrow, the Cities of the Countrey thereabout were all taken in, some by Surrender, and others by Storm; King *Jarbas* likewise, a Confederate and Auxiliary of *Domitius*, was taken Prisoner, and his Kingdom was given to *Himself*.

Pompey could not rest here, but being ambitious to follow the good Fortune and Valour of his Army, he fell into *Numidia*, and marching forward many days Journeys up into the Countrey, he conquered all where ere he came, resolving, That by his Hand the Name and Power of the Roman Empire (which was now almost obliterated among the barbarous Nations) should be revived again, and appear as formidable as ever; he said likewise, *That the wild Beasts of Africa ought not to be left without some experience of the Courage and Success of the Romans,* and therefore he bestowed some few days in hunting of Lions and Elephants: Now 'tis said, That 'twas not above the space of 40 days at the utmost, in which he gave a total Overthrow to the Enemy,

*His Conquest of Africa.*

reduced *Africa*, and established the Affairs of the Kings and Kingdoms of all that Countrey, being then but 24 years of Age.

§. 4.

When *Pompey* returned back to the City of *Utica*, there were presented to him Letters and Orders from *Sylla*, commanding him to disband the rest of his Army, and himself with one Legion only to wait there the coming of another General, that should succeed him in the Government of that Province; this grated inwardly and was extremely grievous to *Pompey*, though he made no shew of it; but the Army represented it openly, and therefore when *Pompey* besought them to depart home before him, they began to revile *Sylla*, and gave out broad Speeches, *That they were resolved not to forsake him, neither did they think it safe for him to trust the Tyrant*. Notwithstanding this, *Pompey* endeavoured to appease and pacify them by fair Speeches, but when he saw that all his Persuasions were vain, he left the Bench and retired to his Tent with Tears in his Eyes; but the Souldiers followed him, and seizing upon him by force brought him again, and placed him in his Chair of State; where great part of that day was spent in Dispute, they on their part persuading him to stay and command them; he

he on the other side pressing upon them Obedience and the danger of Mutinies; but at last when they grew more importunate and clamorous, *He swore that he would kill himself, if they attempted to force him*; and yet even this would scarce appease them. However this gave occasion and rise to some malicious Reports, whereby 'twas suggested to *Sylla*, That *Pompey* was up in Rebellion, whereupon *Sylla* said to some of his Friends, *Well, then I see 'tis my destiny to contend with Children in my old Age*: reflecting likewise upon *Marius*, for that he being but a meer Youth had found him Work enough, and brought his Affairs into extream Danger. But *Sylla* being undeceived afterwards by a better Intelligence, and hearing that the whole City in a manner had designed to meet *Pompey*, and receive him with all Kindness and Honour, he himself endeavoured to exceed them all in Civility, and therefore going out foremost to meet him, and embracing him with great joy, he gave him his Welcom aloud in the Title of *Pompey the Great*, and commanded all those that were present to call him by that Name: Others say, That he had this Title first given him by a general Acclamation of all the Army in *Africa*, but that it took its force and power from the ratification.

fication of *Sylla* ; but this is true, That he himself was the last that owned the Title, for 'twas a long time after, when he was sent Proconsul into *Spain* against *Sertorius*, that he began to subscribe himself in his Letters and Commissions by the Name of *Pompey the Great*, even then when the envy of the Title was worn off by being common and familiar. Hence may the Wisdom of the ancient *Romans* be justly revered and had in Admiration, That did not only reward the Successes of Action and Conduct in War with such honourable Titles, but adorned likewise the Virtues and Services of eminent Men in the Civil Government, with the same Distinctions and Characters of Honour ; and therefore the People stiled two by the Names of *Maximi* ; i. e. the Greatest, *Valerius*, for that he reconciled the Senate to the People when they were at Variance ; and *Fabius Rullus*, for that he put out of the Senate certain *Libertines* that had been elected thither for their Riches.

Upon this *Pompey* desired the Honour of Triumph, which *Sylla* opposed stiffly, alledging, *That the Law allowed that Honour to none but Consuls and Prætors, and therefore Scipio the elder, who subdued the Carthaginians in Spain in far greater and nobler Conflicts, never so much as petitioned*

*Sylla opposes his Triumph.*

for

for Triumph, because he had never attained to the Office of Consul or Prætor : And if *Pompey* (who had scarce a Hair in his Face, nor yet of Age to be a Senator) should enter the City in Triumph, what a load of Envy would it cast at once upon *Sylla's* Government and *Pompey's* Honour ? These were the Arguments *Sylla* us'd against *Pompey*, shewing that he should not by any means yield to his Request, but if he would persist in his Ambition, that he was resolved to interpose his Power, and lay a Prohibition upon him, as a Lover of Contention and Disobedience ; *Pompey* was no ways daunted at this, but wished *Sylla* to recollect with himself, *That more worshipped the Rising than the Setting Sun* : intimating thereby, That his Power was increasing, and *Sylla's* in the wain ; *Sylla* did not perfectly hear the words, but observing a sort of Amazement and Wonder in the Looks and Gestures of those that did hear them, he asked, What it was that he said ? When it was told him, he seemed to be very much surprized with the Boldness of *Pompey*, and cried out twice together, *Ene let him triumph*. But when others began to shew their Stomach and Disdain, *Pompey*, as 'tis said, to gall and vex them the more, designed to have his triumphant Chariot drawn with four Ele-

Elephants, (having brought over several from the Spoils of those *African Kings*) but the Gates of the City being too narrow, he was forced to desist from that Project, and make use of Horses; in the next place, some of his Souldiers, (who had failed of some Reward, or been some way or other disappointed) began to clamour and interrupt the Triumph, but *Pompey* regarded these as little as the rest, and plainly told them, *That he had rather lose the Honour of his Triumph, than flatter them.* Whereupon *Servilius* (a Person of great Quality, and at first one of the chiefest Opposers of *Pompey's* Triumph) said openly, *Now I perceive that Pompey is truly Great, and worthy of Triumph;* 'tis clearly manifest, that he might easily have been a Senator if he would, yet he did not sue for that, esteeming Honour as a Paradox, and hunting after it, (as 'tis said) not in the common Road, but even there where no man else ever did: For what wonder had it been for *Pompey* in his nonage, to sit in the Senate before his time? but to triumph before he was of the Senate, that was the excess of Glory to a Miracle.

This Contest of his with *Sylla* for Triumph did not a little ingratiate him in the good Will of the People, for it could not but be extremely grateful for them to see

on:

one of their own Order in Triumph, & then to return to them again and take his Place among the *Roman* Knights; on the other side, 'twas no less ungrateful to *Sylla* to see how fast he came on, and to what a height of Glory and Power he was advanced, yet being ashamed to hinder him, he smothered his Grief and lay quiet; but when by plain force, and in spite of him, *Pompey* procured the Consulship for *Lepidus*, having by his own Interest reconciled him to the Favour of the People, *Sylla* could not contain himself any longer, but spying him after the Election, as he was crossing the Market-place with a great Train after him, cryed out to him, *Well young Man! I see thou rejoycest in thy Conquest, and for what Cause I prithee? Is it not a generous and worthy Act think you, that the priority of Consulship should be given to Lepidus the vilest of Men, against Catulus the best and most deserving Man in all the City? and all this, forsooth, by your Influence upon the People: Well this I'll advise thee, and look to't, that thou dost not sleep, but keep a vigilant Eye upon thy Affairs, for thou hast raised up a dangerous Enemy to greater Power than thy self.* But that which gave the clearest demonstration of *Sylla's* Ill-will to *Pompey*, (and whereby his former Kindness appeared to have been specious

ciuous only ) was his last Will and Testament, for whereas he had bequeathed several Legacies to all the rest of his Friends, and appointed some of them Guardians to his Son, he passed by *Pompey* without the least remembrance ; however *Pompey* bore this with great Moderation and Civility ; insomuch that when *Lepidus* and others obstructed his Interment in the *Campus Martius*, denying indeed any publick Solemnity of a Funeral, he himself attended the Hearse ; thereby giving both Honour and Security to it, and having his Obsequies performed with all the Pomp and Solemnity of a *Roman* General.

§. 5.

*Lepidus moves  
a Civil War.*

Shortly after the Death of *Sylla*, that prophetick Speech of his to *Pompey* touching *Lepidus* came to pass ; for *Lepidus* usurping the Government and Authority that *Sylla* had, did not go about by Fetches, nor yet colourably in specious Pretences, but immediately took up Arms, having stirred up again, and guarded himself with the corrupted Remains of that Faction that had escaped the Vengeance of *Sylla* : Now *Catulus* his Colleague, who was followed by the founder part of the Senate and People, was a Man of the greatest Esteem among the *Romans* for his singular Wisdom and Justice, but his Talent lay in the Government of the City rather than the

Camp,

Camp, being no great Man of War, whereas the exigency of Affairs in this Juncture required rather the Skill and Experience of *Pompey* : *Pompey* therefore was not long in suspense which way to dispose of himself, but joyning with the Nobility, was presently appointed General of the Army against *Lepidus* : who had already over-run the greatest part of *Italy*, and likewise brought *Gallia Cisalpina* in Subjection with an Army under the Conduct of *Brutus*. As for the rest of his Garrisons, *Pompey* subdued them with ease in his March, but \* *Mutina* in *Gaul* engaged him in a formal Siege, where he lay a long time encamped against *Brutus* : In the mean time *Lepidus* marched in all haste against *Rome*, and sitting down before it with a mighty Rabble of People, demanded a second Consulship, whereby he struck no small Terrour into the Besieged ; but that Fear quickly vanished upon some Letters sent from *Pompey*, advertising, That he had ended the War without a Battel ; for *Brutus*, either betraying his Army, or being betrayed by them upon the Revolt, rendered himself to *Pompey*, & taking a Guard of Horse was conducted to a little Village in that part of *Gaul* that lyes upon the River *Padu* or *Po* ; where he was slain the next day by *Geminus*, in

*He is sent a-  
gainst Lepidus*

\* *Now Modena.*

exe-

execution of *Pompey's* Commands: Upon this, *Pompey* was grossly censured, for having at the very beginning of the Revolt written to the Senate how that *Brutus* had voluntarily surrendred himself; yet immediately afterwards he sent other Letters, containing Matter of Charge or Accusation against the Man after he was taken off, which was somewhat unaccountable: Now you must note that that *Brutus*, who together with *Cassius* slew *Cesar*, was Son to this *Brutus*, a Man neither in War, nor in his Death like his Father, as we have describ'd at large in his Life. *Lepidus* upon this being driven out of *Italy*, fled to *Sardinia*, where he fell sick and died, having his Heart broken with Sorrow, not for his Losses or Misfortunes, as they say, but upon the receipt of a Letter, wherein he was assured that his Wife had played the Harlot.

Sent in Aid of  
Metellus a-  
gainst Sertori-  
us in Spain.

There was yet remaining *Sertorius* in *Spain*, a Man of War far different from *Lepidus*, and much more formidable to the *Romans*, to whom there resorted all the Fugitives and Male-contents of the Nation, flowing thither as Humours to the last diseased part of a Civil War: This Man had already cut off divers inferior Commanders, and was now buckling with *Metellus Pius* a Man of Honour and a Soul-

Souldier, though perhaps he might now seem too slow, by reason of his Age, to second and improve the happier moments of War, and might be sometimes wanting to those Advantages, which *Sertorius* by his Sharpness and Dexterity would wrest out of his hands: For he was always hovering about and coming upon him unawares, like a Captain of Thieves rather than Souldiers, pestering him perpetually with Ambuscadoes and light Skirmishes, whereas *Metellus* like a good old Wrestler was accustomed to nothing but regular Conduct, and fighting in Battel-array with his legionary Souldiers well arm'd. *Pompey* therefore having his Army in readiness, made it his whole Court and Practice to be sent in Aid to *Metellus*; neither would he be brought to disband his Forces, notwithstanding that *Catulus* had commanded it, but by some colourable Device or other he still kept them in Arms about the City, until the Senate at last thought fit, upon the Report of *L. Philippus*, to decree him that Government: At that time, they say, one of the Senators there wondring at this Report, demanded of *Philip* whether his meaning was, That *Pompey* should be sent into Spain

*Proconsul*, i. e. instead of a Consul; No, he replied *Philip*, but *Pro Consulibus*, i. e. in stead

*stead of both Consuls*, meaning that neither of the Consuls for that year was of any Value. Now when *Pompey* was arrived in *Spain*, (as 'tis usual upon the Fame of a new Governour) Men began to be rais'd with new Hopes, and those Nations that had not entred into a very strict League and Alliance with *Sertorius* began to waver and revolt; whereupon *Sertorius* gave out very arrogant and scornful Speeches against *Pompey*, saying in derision, *That he should want no other Weapon but a Ferula and Rod to chastise this Boy with, if he were not afraid of that old Woman*, meaning *Metellus*: Yet for all his proud words, in deed and reality he stood in awe of *Pompey*, as appeared by all his Actions and Conduct throughout the whole management of the War, wherein he was observed ever after to stand better upon his Guard and engage more warily than before: For *Metellus* (which one would not have imagined) was grown very debauched in his Life, having given himself over excessively to Riot and Pleasure; and yet of a sudden there was wrought in him a mighty Change, as well in respect of his Pride as his Luxury: So that this very thing gained a wonderful Reputation and Honour to *Pompey*, as an Example of Frugality, although that Vertue was ha-

habitual in him, and required no great Industry to exercise it, for that he was naturally inclined to Temperance, and no ways inordinate in his Affections. Here Fortune, as 'tis common in War, shewed variety of Changes, but nothing came so near to *Pompey* as the taking of the City *Lauro* by *Sertorius*: For when *Pompey* thought he had him safe inclosed, and had boasted largely of raising the Siege, he himself appeared of a sudden to be encompassed; insomuch that he durst not move out of his Camp, but was forced with sorrow to sit still whilst the City was taken, and in Flames before his face. However afterwards in a Battel about *Valentia* he gave a great Defeat to *Herennius* and *Perpenna*, (two Commanders of those Fugitives who came to *Sertorius*, and were now Lieutenants to him) wherein he slew above 10000 Men. *Pompey* being exalted and puffed up with this Victory, made all the haste imaginable to engage *Sertorius* himself, and the rather lest *Metellus* should come in for a share in the Honour of the victory: so that i'th' evening towards Sun-set, they joyned Battel near the River *Sucron*, both being in great fear lest *Metellus* should come, *Pompey*, that he might engage in the Combat alone, *Sertorius*, that he might engage but with one alone.

*His Victory  
over Herenni-  
us and Per-  
penna.*



The Issue of the Battel proved doubtful for that a Wing of each side had the better; but of the Generals, *Sertorius* had the greater Honour, for that he maintained his Post, having slain and put to flight all that Battalion that was appointed against him. Whereas *Pompey* was worsted in his part of the Battel, and himself almost a Prisoner, for being set upon by a mighty Man of Arms that fought on foot as they were closely engaged Hand to Hand, the strokes of their Swords chanced to light upon each others Hand, but with a different Success, for *Pompey's* was a slight Wound only, whereas he lopt off the others Hand: However it hapned that many falling upon *Pompey* together, and his own Forces there being put to the Rout, he made his Escape beyond expectation, by quitting his Horse and turning him up among the Enemy; for the Horse being richly adorned with golden Trappings, and having a Caparison of great value, the Souldiers quarrelled among themselves for the Booty, so that while they were fighting with one another, and dividing the Spoil, *Pompey* made his escape. By break of day the next morning, each drew out his Forces into the Field to confirm the Victory; but *Metellus* coming up to them, *Sertorius* vanished away.

away

away, having broken up and dispersed his Army; for in such a manner did he use to raise and disband his Armies, so that sometimes he would be wandering up and down all alone, and at other times again he would come pouring into the Field at the Head of a puissant Army, no less than 150000 Fighting-men, swelling of a sudden like a mighty Torrent or Winter-flood.

Now when *Pompey* was going after the Battel to meet and welcome *Metellus*, and when they were near one another, he commanded his Serjeants to bow down their Rods in honour of *Metellus* as his Ancient and Superiour; but *Metellus* on the other-side forbid it, and behaved himself very obliging to him in all things else, not claiming any Prerogative either in respect of his Consulship, or Seniority; excepting only, that when they incamped together, the Watch-word was given to the whole Camp by *Metellus*. But generally they had their Camps asunder, for that they were divided and distracted by the Enemy, that was in all shapes, and being always in motion, would by a wonderful Artifice appear in divers Places almost in the same instant, drawing them from one sort of Fight to another in perpetual Skirmishes: But at last *Pompey* in-

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ter-

tercepting all Forrage, plundering and spoiling the Countrey, and keeping the dominion of the Sea, rooted them out of that part of *Spain* that was under his Government, forcing them, out of meer Want, to retreat into other Provinces.

*Pompey* having made use of and expended the greatest part of his own Revenue upon the War, sent and demanded Moneys of the Senate, adding, That in case they did not furnish him speedily, he should be forced to return into *Italy* with his Army; *Lucullus* being Consul at that time, (though indeed he was an Enemy to *Pompey*, yet) in contemplation that he himself was a Candidate for the War against *Mithridates*, he procured and hastned the Supplies, fearing lest there should be any pretence or occasion given to *Pompey* of returning home, who of himself was no less desirous of leaving *Sertorius*, than ambitious of undertaking the War against *Mithridates*, as an Enemy, where the Enterprize in all appearance would prove much more honourable and less dangerous. In the mean time *Sertorius* died, being treacherously murdered by some of his own Party; insomuch that *Perpenna* was now become the chief Commander among them, and he that would undertake to personate the Actions of

*Ser.*

*Sertorius*, having indeed the same Forces, the same Ammunition, and Means, yet there was still wanting the same Wit, Skill and Conduct, in the use and manage-ry of them. *Pompey* therefore marched directly against *Perpenna*, and finding him ignorant and perplexed in his Affairs, had a Decoy ready for him, and so sent out a Detachment of 10 Companies with Orders to range up and down the Fields, and disperse themselves abroad, as if they were foraging or in quest of some Booty; this Bait took accordingly, for no sooner had *Perpenna* quarried upon the Prey and had them in Chace, but that *Pompey* appeared suddenly with all his Army, and joyning Battel, gave him a total Overthrow; so that most of his Commanders were slain in the Field, and he himself being brought Prisoner to *Pompey*, was by his Order put to Death: Neither ought *Pompey* to be arraigned of Ungratefulness or Oblivion, in that he had been unmindful of his Transactions with *Perpenna* in *Sicily*, (as some would charge him) since 'tis clear that what he did in this Case, was prudently determined upon solid Reason and deliberate Council for the security of his Countrey: For *Perpenna* having in his custody all *Sertorius* his Papers, shewed several Letters from the greatest Men in

*His conquest of Perpenna.*

I 3

*Rome,*

Rome, who (affecting a Change and Subversion of the Government) had invited *Sertorius* into *Italy*; wherefore *Pompey*, fearing lest by these he should stir and blow up greater Flames of War than those that had been already extinguished, thought it expedient, both to take off *Perpenna*, and likewise to burn the Letters without reading of them.

§. 6.

After this *Pompey* tarried and spent so much time in *Spain*, as was necessary for the suppression of those greater Tumults in that Province; and as soon as he had qualified and allayed the violent Heats of Affairs there, he returned with his Army into *Italy*, where he arrived very luckily in the height of the *Servile War*; wherefore upon his Arrival, *Crassus* the General in that War, made all the expedition imaginable to give them Battel, which he did with great Success, having slain upon the Place 12300 of those fugitive Slaves: Nor yet was he so quick, but that Fortune had reserved to *Pompey* some share of Honour in the Success of this War, for that 5000 of them, that had escaped out of the Battel, fell into his hands; wherefore when he had totally cut them off, he wrote to the Senate, *That Crassus had overthrown the Fencers in Battel, but that he had plucked up the War it self by the Roots.* And thus

His Aid to  
Crassus in the  
Servile War.

thus it was commonly reported in *Rome* among all those that had the least Kindness for *Pompey*; but for those Actions in *Spain*, together with the Conquest of *Sertorius*, no Man ever, so much as in Jest, ascribed that Honour to any other than *Pompey*; and yet this great Honour and Veneration of the Man was always accompanied with Fears and Jealousies, that he would not disband his Army, but affecting Monarchy, designed clearly to follow the Policies of *Sylla* and govern by a standing Army; wherefore in the number of all those that ran out to meet him and congratulate his Return, as many went out of Fear, as Affection; but after that *Pompey* had removed this Suggestion, by declaring before-hand, That he would discharge the Army after his Triumph, there was yet remaining one great Cause of Complaint more from the Envy and Malice of his Enemies, That he affected Popularity, courting the common People more than the Nobility, and whereas *Sylla* had taken away the *Tribuneship* of the People, he designed to gratifie the People in restoring that Office; which was very true, for there was not any one thing that the People of *Rome* did so wildly doat on, or more passionately desire than the Restauration of that Government, insomuch

He restores the  
Office of Tribunes.

that *Pompey* thought himself extremely fortunate in this opportunity, despairing ever (if he were prevented in this) of meeting with any other, wherein he might express his Gratitude in compensation of all those Favours which he had received from the People. The Decree therefore passed for a second Triumph, and the Consulship; and yet for all this Power and Honour he did not seem to be admired or magnified for those things, but this was the Signal and Test of his Grandeur, That even *Crassus* himself, (the wealthiest among all the Statesmen of his Time, the most eloquent and greatest too, a Man of that Pride that he despised even *Pompey* himself, and all others as beneath him) durst not appear a Candidate for the Consulship before he had made his Address to *Pompey*; which was done accordingly, and as readily embraced by *Pompey*, who had often sought an occasion to oblige him in some friendly Office; so that he solicited for *Crassus*, and entreated the People heartily, declaring, *That their Favour would be no less to him in his Collegue, than in his Consulship*; yet for all this when they were created Consuls, they were always at variance and opposing one another; now *Crassus* prevailed most in the Senate, and *Pompey's* Power was

His 2d triumph  
and first Consul-  
ship with *Cras-*  
*sus*.

was no less with the People, for that he restored to them the Office of *Tribune*, and had suffered the Judicature again to be transferred upon the Knights by a Law. But he himself afforded them the most grateful Spectacle, when he appeared and craved his Discharge from the Wars: For it was an ancient Custom among the *Romans*, That the Knights, when they had served out their legal time in the Wars, should lead their Horse into the Market-place before two Censors, and having given an account of the Commanders and Generals under whom they served, as also of the Places and Actions in their Service, they were discharged, every Man with Honour or Disgrace according to his Deserts: There were then sitting upon the Bench two reverend Censors, *Gellius* and *Catulus*, with great Gravity taking a view of the *Roman* Knights who were then in Muster, and under Examination before them; when *Pompey* was seen afar off to come into the Market-place, adorned in all things else with all the Marks and Ensigns of a Consul, but himself leading his Horse in his hand: As he drew near, he commanded the Vergers to make way, and so he led his Horse to the Bench; the People were all this while in a sort of Amaze, and all in Silence, and the Cen-

*Submits to the*  
Censors.

*sors*

for themselves shewed him great Reverence, expressing a Modesty together with Joy in their Countenance: Then the senior Censor examined him, Pompey the Great, I demand of thee, whether thou hast served out all that time in the Wars that is prescribed by the Law of Arms? Yes, (replied Pompey with a loud Voice) I have served all, and all under my self as General; the People hearing this gave a great Shout, and made such an Outcry for Joy that there was no appeasing it; but the Censor rising from their Judgement-seat, accompanied him home to gratifie the Multitude, who followed after clapping their Hands, and shouting with great Signs of Joy.

Pompey's Consulship was now expiring, and yet the Difference with Crassus increasing, whereupon one Gaius Aurelius Knight, (but one that declined Business all his Life-time) stood up and addressed himself in an Oration to the Assembly, declaring, That Jupiter had appeared to him in a Dream, commanding him to tell the Consuls, That they should not leave their Charge of that Government until they were Friends. After this was said, Pompey stood silent, but Crassus took him by the Hand, and spoke in this manner, I do not think, oh ye Romans, that I shall do any thing mean or dishonourable, in yielding first

to Pompey; even that Pompey whom you were pleased to enoble with the Title of Great, when as yet he scarce had a Hair in his Face; and granted the Honour of two Triumphs, when as yet he had no Place in the Senate. Hereupon they were reconciled and laid down their Government. Now Crassus kept on in his former manner of Life as he began, pleading Causes; but Pompey declined his Practice in a great measure, taking the Patronage of some few Causes only, so that by degrees he withdrew himself totally from the Courts and all Matters of Judgement, coming but seldom in publick; and when ever he did, 'twas with a great Train after him; neither was it easie to meet or visit him without great Attendance; but his delight was to appear guarded with such a Retinue, designing thereby to advance the Reverence and Majesty of his Presence, and preserve his Dignity (as he ought to do) entire from the Approaches and Conversation of the Multitude: For Men that have risen and grown great by Arms, are easily betrayed into Contempt by a change of Life, when they shall betake themselves to the Long-robe and plead Causes, in that they cannot fashion themselves to that popular Equality or Familiarity that's common among Citizens, expecting to be esteem-

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ed their Betters in the City, as they were in the Field; whereas on the contrary, the Pride and Folly of these Citizens is such, That though they were Inferiours in the Camp, yet they'll contend for Precedence in the City, which is intolerable; and therefore 'tis that when a noble Warrior (crowned with Victories and Triumphs) shall turn Advocate and ply the Courts among them, they endeavour presently by a malicious Pedantry to obscure his Glory, and depress him; whereas if he quits a publick Patronage and retires, they shall preserve his Honour and Authority beyond the reach of Envy; as appeared not long after by the things themselves.

§. 7.  
The Pirates  
War.

The Power of the Pirates first broke out of *Cilicia*, having in truth but a rash and blind beginning, but was animated and encouraged afterwards in the Wars of *Mithridates*, where they hired themselves out and became Stipendiaries in the King's Service. Afterwards whilst the *Romans* were embroyled in their Civil Wars, being engaged against one another even before the very Gates of *Rome*; the Seas lay waste and unguarded, which by degrees enticed, and drew them on, not only to seize upon and spoil the Merchants and Ships upon the Seas, but also to lay waste  
the

the Islands, and Sea-port Towns: So that now there embarked with these Pirates, Men of great Wealth, and Nobility, and of great Wisdom too, being incorporated into their Society or Fellowship as into a commendable Faculty: They had divers Arsenals, or Piratick Harbours, as likewise Watch-towers, and Beacons all along the Sea-coast; they had a mighty Fleet well rigged and furnished with Galliots of Oars, and as well mann'd too, with all the Flower of Youth, with expert Pilots and Mariners; there were their Ships of swift Sayl also, and Pinnaces for Cruising and Discovery; neither was it thus dreadful only, but as gloriously set out too, so that they were more to be envied in their Pride, than feared in their Force; having the Poops and Decks of their Galliots all gilded, and the Oars plated with silver, together with their purple Sayls, as if their delight were to glory in their Iniquity: There was nothing but Musick and Dancing, Banquetting and Revels all along the Shore, together with the Prizes of Kings in Captivity, and Ransoms of sackt Cities, to the Reproach and Dishonour of the *Roman* Empire. There were of these *Corfsirs* above 1000 Sayl, and they had taken no less than 400 Cities; committing Sacriledge upon the  
Tem-

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Tem-

Temples of the Gods, and enriching themselves with the Spoils of divers, undefiled before, such as were those of *Claros*, *Didyme*, and *Samothrace*; and the Temple of *Tellus*, or the Earth in *Hermione*, and that of *Aesculapius* in *Epidaurum*; Those of *Neptune*, in *Isthmus*, *Tenarus*, and *Calauria*; Those of *Apollo*, in *Actium* and the Isle of *Leucades*; and those of *Juno*, in *Samos*, *Argos*, and *Leucania*. They offered likewise strange Sacrifices upon Mount *Olympus*, and performed certain secret Rites or religious Mysteries, whereof that to the Sun (which they called by the Name of *Mithres*) was preserved down to our Age, having its Original and first Institution from them. But besides these Piracies and Insolencies by Sea, they were yet more injurious to the *Romans* by Land; for they would often go ashore and rob upon the High-ways; plundering and destroying their Villages and Countrey-houses near the Sea: And once they seized upon two *Roman* Prætors, *Sextilius* and *Bellinus*, in their purple Robes, and carried them off together with their Sergeants and Vergers; The Daughter also of *Antonius* (a Man that had the Honour of Triumph) taking a Journey into the Countrey, was seized upon, and redeemed afterwards with an excessive Ransom.

But

But this was the most spiteful and abusive of all, That when any of the Captives declared himself to be a *Roman* and told his Name, they seemed to be surprized, and straightway feigning a Fear, smote their Thighs, and fell down at his Feet, humbly beseeching him to be gracious and forgive them: The credulous Captive, seeing them so humble and supplicant, believed them to be in earnest; for some were so officious as to put on his Shoes, others helpt him on with his Gown, lest his Quality should be mistaken again: After all this Pageantry, when they had thus deluded and mockt him long enough, at last casting out a Ships Ladder, when they were even in the midst of the Sea, they bid him march off and farewell; if he refused, they threw him over-board and drowned him. This Piratick Power having got the Dominion and Sovereignty of all the *Mediterranean*, and perpetually roving up and down, there was left no place for Navigation or Commerce, inso-much that no Merchant durst venture out to traffick. The *Romans* therefore, finding themselves to be extreemly straitned in their Markets, and considering that if this scarcity of Corn should continue, there would be a Dearth and Famine in the Land, determined to send out *Pompey*

to



to recover their Seigniority of the Seas from the Pirates: Wherefore *Gabinus* (a great Creature of *Pompey's*) preferred a Law, whereby there was granted to him, not only the Government of the Seas as Admiral, but even the Monarchy of *Rome* as Sovereign, having an arbitrary and unlimited Power over all Men; The sum of that Decree gave him the absolute Power and Authority of all the Seas, even from the *Streights-mouth* or *Hercules-pillars*; together with the Continent or Main-land, all along for the space of 400 furlongs, or 50 miles from the Sea: Now there were but few Regions in the World under the *Roman* Empire of a larger Extent, and in that Compass too there were comprehended great Nations and mighty Kings. Moreover by this Decree he had a Power of electing 15 Lieutenants out of the Senate, and of assigning to each his Province in charge; Then he might take likewise out of the Treasury, and of the *Publicans* what Moneys he pleas'd, as also 200 Sails of Ships, with a Power to press and levy what Souldiers and Sea-men he thought fit, together with Gallies of Oars and Mariners: When this Law was read, the common People approved of it exceedingly, but the chiefest and most powerful of the Senate looked upon it as an exorbitant

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tant Power, even beyond the reach of Envy, and was now become worthy of their Fears; therefore concluding with themselves that such an infinite and boundless Authority was dangerous, they agreed unanimously to oppose the Bill, and all were against it, except *Cesar*, who gave his Vote for the Law, not so much to gratify *Pompey*, as the People, whose Favour he had courted under-hand from the beginning, and hoped thereby to compass such a Power for himself: The rest inveighed bitterly against *Pompey*, in so much as one of the *Consuls*, told him sharply, *That if he followed the Footsteps of Romulus, he would scarce avoid his End*, but he was in danger of being torn in pieces by the Multitude for his Speech: Yet when *Catulus* stood up to speak against the Law, the People in Reverence to him were very silent and attentive; He therefore, after he had, without the least shew of Envy, made large Harangues in honour of *Pompey*, began to advise the People in kindness to spare him, and not to expose a Man of his Value to such a Chain of Dangers and Wars; For said he, *Where could you find out another Pompey, or whom would you have in case you should chance to lose him?* They all cry'd out with one Voice, *Your self*; wherefore *Catulus*,

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finding all his Rhetorick ineffectual, desisted: Then *Roscius* attempted to speak, but could have no Audience, wherefore he made Signs with his Fingers, intimating, *Not him alone, but that there might be a second Pompey or Colleague in Authority with him*: Upon this, 'tis said, the Multitude being extreamly incens'd, made such an horrid Exclamation, that a Crow flying over the Market-place at that instant was struck blind and dropt down among the Rabble; whereby it appears, That the Cause of Birds falling down to the ground, is not by any rupture or division of the Air when it has received any such Impression or Force; but purely by the very stroak of the Voice, which, being shot up by a Multitude with great violence, raises a sort of Tempest and Billows in the Air. The Assembly therefore broke up for that day: And when the day was come, wherein the Bill was to pass by Suffrage into a Decree, *Pompey* went privately into the Countrey; but hearing that it was passed and confirmed, he returned again into the City by night, to avoid the Envy that might arise from that Concourse of People that would meet and congratulate him: The next morning he came abroad, and sacrificed to the Gods, and having Audience at an open

open Assembly, he handled the Matter so, as that they enlarged his Power, giving him many things besides what was already granted, and almost doubling the Preparation appointed in the former Decree: For there were compleatly 500 Sayl of Ships fitted out, and he had an Army of 120000 Foot, and 5000 Horse assigned for his Muster; There were chosen likewise for his Lieutenants or Vice-Admirals, 24 Senators that had been Consuls, Prætors, or Generals of Armies, and to these were added two of the general Treasurers: Now it happened within this time that the Prizes of Provisions were much abated, which gave an occasion to the joyful People of saying, *That the very Name of Pompey had e'ne ended the War*. However *Pompey* in pursuance of his Charge divided all the Sea, with each distance between the Lands, into 13 parts, allotting a Squadron to each, under the Command of his Vice-Admirals; And having thus dispers'd his Power into all Quarters, and encompassed the Pirats every where, they began to fall into his Dragg by whole shoals, which he seiz'd and brought into his Harbours; As for those that withdrew themselves betimes, or otherwise escap'd his general Chace, they all made to *Cilicia*, where they hid themselves as

in their Hives ; against whom *Pompey* design'd to go in Person with 60 of his best Frigats ; But first he resolv'd to scour and clear all the Seas thereabout, as that of *Tuscany*, together with the Coasts of *Africa*, *Sardinia*, *Corfica*, and *Sicily* ; All which he perform'd in the space of 40 days by his own indefatigable Industry, and the Diligence of his Vice-Admirals. Now *Pompey* met with some Diversion in *Rome*, through the Malice and Envy of *Piso* the Consul, who had put some stop to his Affairs, by wasting his Stores and discharging his Sea-men ; whereupon he sent his Fleet round to *Brundisium*, himself going the next way by Land through *Tuscany* to *Rome* ; which as soon as it came to be known by the People, they all flock'd out to meet him upon the way, as if they had not sent him out but a little before ; But that which chiefly rais'd their Joy, was the sudden & unexpected change in the Markets, abounding now with exceeding Plenty ; So that *Piso* was in great danger to have been depriv'd of his Consulship, *Gabinus* having a Law ready penn'd for that purpose ; but *Pompey* forbid it, behaving himself as in that, so in all things else, with great Moderation, whereby having brought to pass and obtain'd all that he wanted or desir'd, he departed for  
*Brun-*

*Brundisium*, whence he set Sail in pursuit of the Pirats : Now though he was straitned in time, and his hasty Voyage forc'd him to sail by several famous Cities without touching, yet he would not pass by the City of *Athens* unsaluted, but landing there, after he had sacrificed to the Gods, and made an Oration to the People, as he was returning out of the City, he read at the Gates two Monosticks or single Epigrams writ in his own praise.

One within the Gate.

(more.  
*Thy humbler thoughts make thee a God the*

The other without.

*We wish'd and saw, we honour and adore.*

Now because that *Pompey* had shew'd himself merciful to some of that Swarm of Thieves, that were yet roving in Boddies about the Seas, (having upon their Supplication ordered a Seizure of their Ships and Persons only, without any farther Process or Severity ; ) therefore the rest of their Camrades in Hopes of Mercy too, made their Escape from his other Commanders, and surrender'd themselves with their Wives and Children into his

Protection ; So that *Pompey* pardon'd all that came in, and the rather because by them he might make a discovery of those who fled from his Justice, as conscious that their Crimes were beyond an Act of Indemnity : Whereof the greatest and chiefest part conveyed their Families and Treasures ( with all besides that were unfit for War ) into Castles and strong Forts about Mount *Taurus* ; but they themselves having well mann'd their Galleys, imbark'd for *Coracesum* in *Cilicia*, where they receiv'd *Pompey* and gave him Battel ; Here they had a fatal Overthrow, and thereupon they retir'd to their Cities, where they were besieg'd ; At last, having dispatch'd their Heralds to him with a Submission, they deliver'd up to his mercy themselves, their Towns, Islands, and strong Holds, all which they had fortifi'd with Bulwarks and Rampiers, whereby they became impregnable, and almost inaccessible.

Thus was this War ended, and the whole Power of the Pirats at Sea dissolv'd every where in the space of three months: Wherein besides a great number of other Vessels, he took 90 Men of War with brazen Beaks ; and likewise Prisoners of War to the number of no less than 20000 Souls.

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Touching the disposal of these Prisoners, he consider'd on one hand, that it would be barbarous to destroy them all ; and yet it might be no less dangerous on the other to disperse them, for that they might re-unite and make Head again, being numerous, poor, and warlike : Therefore well and wisely weighing with himself, That Man by nature is not a wild or savage Creature, neither was he born so, but becomes a brut Beast by Practice, having chang'd his Nature by a rude and vicious Habit : And again on the other side, That he is civiliz'd and grows gentle by a change of Place, Converse, and manner of Life, as Beasts themselves that are wild by Nature, become tame and tractable to their Feeders by Housing and a gentler Usage ; Upon this Consideration he determin'd to translate these Pirats from Sea to Land, and give them a taste of the true and innocent course of Life by living in Cities, and manuring the Ground : Some therefore were entertain'd in the small and unpeopl'd Towns of the *Cilicians*, mixing and incorporating with those few Inhabitants there, whereby they obtained an Enlargement of their Territories. Others he planted in the City of the *Solians*, that had been lately laid waste and drained by *Tigranes* King of *Armenia* :

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He feated likewise divers in *Dyme*, a City of *Achaia*, a Place extreamly depopulated, but of a large compass of Ground, and as rich a Soyl. However these Proceedings could not escape the Envy and Censure of his Enemies; but for his Practices against *Metellus* in *Crete*, those were disapprov'd of even by the chiefest of his Friends: For *Metellus*, (a Relation to him that was Colleague with *Pompey* in *Spain*) was sent Prætor into *Crete*, before this Province of the Seas was design'd for *Pompey*; Now *Crete* was the second Den and Receptacle of Pirats next to *Cilicia* the Fountain, there *Metellus* apprehended divers and put them to Death; Wherefore those that were yet remaining, and besieg'd, sent their Supplications to *Pompey*, and invited him into the Island as a part of his Province, alledging it to fall within that distance of the Sea limited in his Commission, and so within the Precincts of his Charge; *Pompey* receiving the Submission, dispatch'd an Express to *Metellus* commanding him to leave off the War; and another likewise to the Cities, wherein he charged them not to yield any Obedience to the Commands of *Metellus*; And after these he sent *Lucius Octavius* one of his Lieutenants, who entring the Town together with the Besieged and joyning in their

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Defence, render'd *Pompey* not only grievous and hateful, but even ridiculous too, That he should lend his Name as a Guard to a Nest of Thieves, that knew neither God nor Law, and make his Authority serve as a Sanctuary to them, only out of pure Envy and Emulation to *Metellus*: For neither was *Achilles* thought to act the Part of a wise Man, but rather of a young giddy Fool mad after Glory, when by Signs he forbid the rest of the *Græcians* to strike at *Hector*:

*Left he too late should to the Battel run, Iliad. 22.  
When others had the Honour of it won.*

But *Pompey* contended beyond himself to save the common Enemies of the World, only that he might deprive a *Roman* Prætor, after all his Labours, of the Honour of Triumph. Yet for all this *Metellus* was no ways daunted, neither would he give over the War against the Pirats, but storm'd them in their strong Holds, and having totally subdu'd them, he took a just Revenge of their Impieties: And for *Octavius*, he was publicly disgrac'd, and sent away, loaden with the Scoffs and Reproaches of all the Camp.

Now,

## §. 8.

The War against  
Mithridates  
and Tigranes.

Now, when 'twas reported in *Rome*, That the War with the Pirats was at an end, and that *Pompey* was in a dead Vacuation, diverting himself in Visits only to the Cities for want of Employment; one *Manilius*, a Tribune of the People, preferr'd a Law, whereby 'twas enacted, That *Pompey* should have all the Forces of *Lucullus*, and the Provinces under his Government, together with *Bithynia*, that was under the Command of *Glabrio*; And that he should forthwith make War upon those two Kings *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*, retaining still the same Naval Forces and the Sovereignty of the Seas as before: But this was nothing less than to constitute one absolute Monarch of all the *Roman* Empire; For the Provinces which seem'd to be exempt from his Commission by the former Decree, such as were *Phrygia*, *Lycaonia*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, the *Over Colchis*, and *Armenia*, these were all grafted in by this latter Law, together with all the Army and Forces wherewith *Lucullus* made War upon *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*. Now though this were a notorious Injury to *Lucullus*, whereby he was robb'd of the Glory of his Atchievements, (by having a Successor assigned him rather in the Honour of his Triumph, than the Danger of the War;) Yet this was of

no great moment in the Eye of the Senate, because it was personal only (though they could not but censure the People of Injustice and Ingratitude to *Lucullus*); But the source of all their Grievance flow'd from hence, That the Power of *Pompey* should by Law be establish'd in a manifest Tyranny; And therefore they exhorted and encourag'd one another privately to bend all their Forces in opposition to this Law, and not to cast away their Liberties and Properties at so tame a rate; Yet for all their Resolutions, when the day came wherein it was to pass into a Decree, their Hearts fail'd them for fear of the People, and all the rest were silent except *Catulus*, who boldly inveigh'd against the Law, and charg'd the People home, but all in vain; for when he found that he had not wrought over one Man among the People, he turn'd and directed his Speech to the Senate in great passion, often crying out and bidding them to seek out some Mountain as their Forefathers had done, and fly to the Rocks where they might preserve their Liberty. But all his Rhetorick was ineffectual, for the Law pass'd into a Decree, as 'tis said, by the Suffrages of all the Tribes; And now was *Pompey* even in his absence made Lord of almost all that Power, that *Sylla* made him-  
self

self Master of by Conquest, when by force of Arms and War he had brought even *Rome* it self under his Dominion. Now when *Pompey* had Advice by Letter of the Decree, 'tis said, That, in the presence of his Friends who came to rejoyce and give him Joy of his Honour, he seem'd extreamly displeas'd, frowning and smiting his Thigh, and at last, as one overladen already, and weary of Government, he broke out in great passion, *Good Gods! what an endless Train of Wars here? How much better might my Lot have fall'n among the inglorious Crowd, unknown or unregarded! If there shall be no end of this Warfare but with that of my Life! If my Fate be such that I must always despair of those happier moments, wherein I might spend this Tide of Envy, and live at peace in a Countrey Retirement, and the Enjoyments of a dearer Wife!* But all this was look'd upon as Ironical, neither indeed could the best of his Friends endure such gross Hypocrisy, well knowing, that he, whose Ambition was set on fire by his Malice, (having his Enmity with *Lucullus*, as a Firebrand to kindle that covetous Desire of Glory and Empire that was implanted in his Nature) could not but embrace the Province with Joy and Triumph; as appear'd not long afterwards by his Actions,

which

which did clearly unmask him: For in the first place he sent out his Edicts or Proclamations into all Quarters, commanding all Souldiers to resort to his Colours; then he summon'd in all the tributary Kings and Princes that were Subjects within the Precincts of his Charge; and in short, as soon as he had enter'd upon his Province, he left nothing unalter'd that had been done and establish'd by *Lucullus*; to some he remitted their Amercements and Penalties, and depriv'd others of their Rewards; And after this manner did he act in all things, with this Design chiefly, That the Admirers of *Lucullus* might know how that all his Power and Authority was now at an end, and he no longer Lord of this Province. But *Lucullus* began to arraign these Proceedings, and expostulate the Case by Friends, whereupon 'twas thought fitting and agreed that there should be a Meeting betwixt them, and accordingly they met in the Countrey of *Galatia*: Now in that they were great and prosperous Generals both in Conduct and Action, they came in State attended with their Vergers and Officers, bearing their Rods before them all wreath'd about with Branches of Laurel: *Lucullus* came through a Countrey full of green and shady Groves, but *Pompey's*

*Pompey's* March was through large barren Plains both chill and naked ; Therefore the Vergers of *Lucullus*, perceiving that *Pompey's* Laurels were withered and dry, helped him to some of their own, whereby they adorn'd and crown'd his Rods with fresh Laurels: This was thought somewhat ominous, and look'd as if *Pompey* came to take away the Reward and Honour of *Lucullus's* Victories : *Lucullus* indeed had the priority in the course of his Consulship, and of his Age too ; but the Dignity of *Pompey* was the greater, in that he had had the Honour of two Triumphs. Their first Addresses in this Interview were made with great Ceremony and Complaisance, magnifying each others Actions, and congratulating their Success : but when they came to the Matter of their Conference or Treaty, there they observ'd neither Decency nor Moderation, but fell down-right a railing at each other, *Pompey* upbraiding *Lucullus* of Avarice, and *Lucullus* again retorting Ambition upon *Pompey*, so that their Friends could hardly part them. Now *Lucullus* had made a Distribution of all the Lands in *Galatia* within his Conquest, and gave other Largeesses to whom he pleas'd ; But *Pompey* encamping not far distant from him, sent out his Prohibiti-

*His Quarrel  
with Lucullus.*

ons,

ons, whereby he forbid that any Man should yield Obedience to *Lucullus* ; He likewise commanded away all his Souldiers except only 1600, which he found were likely to be as unserviceable to him, as they were ill-affected to *Lucullus*, being proud and mutinous. And to these Acts *Pompey* added some Satyrical Speeches and Invectives against him, detracting openly from the Glory of his Actions, and giving out, That the Battels of *Lucullus* were but imaginary, such as are represented in Landskips, or at best upon the Stage, with Kings personated in Tragedies and Farces, where there was no more danger than in painted Fire, whereas the real part or brunt of the War against a true and well-instructed Army was reserv'd to him, for that *Mithridates* began now to be in earnest, and had betaken himself to his Shields, Swords, and Horses : *Lucullus* on the other side to be even with him in spite, replied, That *Pompey* came to fight with the Image and Shadow of War, it being his usual practice, like a lazy Bird of prey, to quarry upon Carcasses already slain, and tear in pieces the reliques of a War ; For thus did he entitle and attribute to himself the Conquest of *Sertorius*, *Lepidus*, and the Accomplices of *Spartacus* ; whereas this was the Glory of



of *Crassus*, that of *Catulus*, and the first was to be ascrib'd to the Prowess of *Metellus*: And therefore 'tis no great wonder, if the Glory of the *Pontick* and *Armenian* War, prove supposititious too, and be usurp'd by a Man, who by such subtil Artifices could insinuate and work himself into the Honour of Triumph for a few runagate Slaves.

§. 9.

After this *Lucullus* went away; and *Pompey* having plac'd his whole Navy as a Guard upon all those Seas betwixt the Province of *Phenicia*, and the *Bosphorus*, himself march'd against *Mithridates*, who had a Battalion of 30000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, yet he durst not bid him Battel; but lay securely encamped upon a strong Mountain fortifi'd with Trenches and Rampiers almost impregnable, which he forsook not long after as a Place destitute of Water; Now no sooner was he decamp'd, but that *Pompey* in the first place made himself Master of that Mountain, and observing well the nature and thriving of the Plants there, together with the hollow Beds which he found in several places, conjectur'd that such a Plot could not be without Springs, and therefore he order'd them to sink Wells in every corner; whereby there was great plenty of Water throughout all the Camp in a little time;

In-

Inasmuch that he admir'd how it was possible for *Mithridates* to be ignorant of this, during all that time of his Encampment there. After this, *Pompey* pursued him to his next Camp, and there drawing a Line round about him, encamp'd himself, and work'd up his Trenches with Bastions and Rampiers, whereby he wall'd up *Mithridates* within his own Camp. But he having endur'd a Siege of 45 days, made his Escape privily, and fled away with all the Choice of his Army, having first dispatch'd all the sick and unserviceable Persons in his Camp. Not long after *Pompey* overtook him again near the Banks of the River *Euphrates*, where he sat down and encamped close by him; but fearing lest he should pass over the River and give him the Slip there too, he drew up his Army in Battalia against him at Midnight: Now, 'tis said, that at that very time *Mithridates* saw a Vision in his Dream that did prognosticate and fore-shew what should come to pass; For he seem'd to be under Sayl in the *Pontick* Sea with a prosperous Gale, and just in view of the *Bosphorus*, discoursing pleasantly with the Ships Company, as one overjoy'd for his past Danger and present Security; when lo! of a sudden he found himself deserted of all, and floating upon

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a lit-

a little broken Plank of the Ship in the mercy of Sea and Wind. Whilst he was thus labouring under these Passions and Phantasms, some of his Friends came into his Tent, and awak'd him with the dreadful News of *Pompey's* Approach, telling him that he was so near at hand, that now the Fight must be for the Camp itself: Whereupon the Commanders drew up all his Forces in Battel-array; *Pompey* perceiving how ready they were and prepar'd for Defence, began to doubt with himself whether he should put it to the hazard of a Fight in the dark, judging it more consistent with Policy to encompass them only at present, lest they should fly, and give them Battel the next day, because his Men were far the better Soldiers; But his ancient Commanders were of another opinion, and by great Entreaties and Encouragements wrought upon him, and obtain'd that they might charge them immediately. Neither was the Night so very dark, but that (though the Moon was declining, yet) it gave light enough to discern a Body: But this rather deluded and put a Blind upon the Eye sight of the King's Army, for the *Romans* coming upon them with the Moon on their Backs, the Moon (being very low, and just upon setting) cast the Shadows

dows

dows a long way before the Bodies, and reach'de ne almost to the Enemy: This dazl'd their Eyes so, that they (not exactly discerning the Distance, but imagining them to be near at hand) threw their Darts at the Shadows, without the least Execution upon any one Body; The *Romans* therefore perceiving this, ran in upon them with a great Shout; but the barbarous People, all in Amaze, being unable to endure the Charge, were fearfully routed, and put to Flight with a great Slaughter, insomuch that above 10000 were slain there, and the Camp taken; As for *Mithridates* himself, he at the beginning of the Onset with a Body of 800 Horse charg'd through all the *Roman* Army and made his Escape; but immediately all the rest of that Regiment were dispers'd and gone, some one way, some another, and he left only with three Persons in his Retinue; Among whom was his Concubine or Mistress, *Hypsicratia*, a Girl always of a manly and daring Spirit, (and therefore the King call'd her *Hypsicrates*:) She being attired and mounted like a *Persian* Chevalier, accompani'd the King in all his Flight, never weary even in the longest Journey, nor ever fail'd to attend the King in Person, and look after his Horse too; until they

*Mithridates*  
his Flight.

*Hypsicratia*.

came to *Inora*, a Palace or Castle of the King's, well stor'd with Gold and Jewels, and the King's chiefest Treasure. From thence *Mithridates* took of his richest Apparel, and gave it among those that resorted to him in their Flight; and to every one of his chiefest Friends he gave a deadly Poyson, that they might not fall into the Hands of the Enemy against their wills: From thence he design'd to have went to *Tigranes* in *Armenia*, but being prohibited there by *Tigranes*, (who had put out a Proclamation with a Reward of 100 Talents to any one that should apprehend him) he pass'd by the Head of the River *Euphrates*, and fled through the Countrey of *Colchis*.

He goes against  
Tigranes.

Now had *Pompey* made an Invasion into the Countrey of *Armenia*, upon the Invitation of young *Tigranes*, for that he was now in Rebellion against his Father, and had given *Pompey* a Meeting about the River *Araxes*: (which River rises near the Head of *Euphrates*, but turning its course and bending towards the East, falls into the *Caspian* Sea.) They two therefore march'd together through the Countrey, taking in all the Cities by the way, and obliging them to Homage and Fealty: But King *Tigranes* (having been harass'd lately in a tedious War by *Lucullus*,

*Araxes* Fl.

*lus*, and withal understanding that *Pompey* was generous in his Nature, and of a gentle Disposition) put Guards into his royal Palaces, and taking along with him divers of his Friends and Relations, went in Person to surrender himself into the Hands of *Pompey*; He came as far as the Trenches on Horseback, but there he was met by two of *Pompey's* Vergers, who commanded him to alight and walk on Foot, for that no Man ever was seen on Horseback within a *Roman* Camp: *Tigranes* submitted to this immediately, and not only so, but plucking off his Sword, deliver'd up that too; And last of all, as soon as he appear'd before *Pompey*, he pull'd off his Turbant or royal Diadem, and attempted to have laid it at his Feet; Nay, what's worst of all, even he himself had fallen prostrate as an humble Suppliant at his Knees, to the Reproach of Majesty, had not *Pompey* himself prevented it, by taking and placing him next upon his right Hand, and the Son upon his left; There *Pompey* took occasion to tell him, That as to the rest of his Losses, they were chargeable upon *Lucullus*, for that by *Lucullus* he had been dispossest of *Syria*, *Phenicia*, *Cilicia*, *Galatia*, and *Sophene*, but all that he had preserv'd to himself entire till that time, he should peacefully

ceably enjoy, paying the sum of 6000 Talents as a Fine or Penalty for Injuries done to the *Romans*, and that his Son should have the Kingdom of *Sophene*. *Tigranes* himself was well pleas'd with these Conditions of Peace, and therefore when the *Romans* in a general Shout saluted him King, he seem'd to be overjoy'd, and promis'd to every common Souldier half a Mina of Silver, every Centurion or Captain ten Mina's, and to every Collonel or Commander of a thousand a Talent; But the Son was highly displeas'd, insomuch that when he was invited to Supper, he reply'd, *That he did not stand in need of Pompey for that sort of Honour, for he would find out some other Roman to sup with*: Whereupon he was clapp'd up close Prisoner and reserv'd for the Triumph.

Not long after this, *Phraates* King of *Parthia* sent to *Pompey*, and demanded by his Ambassadors, That he should deliver up young *Tigranes*, as his Son-in-law; and that the River *Euphrates* should be the Term and Bound of their Empires: To these *Pompey* reply'd, That for *Tigranes*, he belong'd more to his own natural Father, than his Father-in-law; And for the Bounds, he would take care that they should be set out according to the Rules of Right and Justice.

So

So *Pompey* leaving *Armenia* in the Custody of *Afranius*, went himself in Chace of *Mithridates*; whereby he was forc'd of necessity to march through several Nations inhabiting about Mount *Caucasus*; Of these Nations, the *Albanians* and *Iberians* were two of the chiefest: The *Iberians* stretch out as far as the *Moschian* Mountains, and to the Realm of *Pontus*; The *Albanians* lye more Eastwardly, and towards the *Caspian* Sea; These barbarous People, the *Albanians*, at first permitted *Pompey* upon his Entreaty to pass through their Countrey, but when they found that the Winter had stoll'n upon the *Roman* Army whilst they were quartered in their Countrey, and withal that they were busily exercis'd in celebrating the Festivals of *Saturn*, they muster'd up an Army of no less than 40000 Fighting men, and set upon them, having passed over the River *Cyrnus*; (which River rising from the Mountains of *Iberia*, and receiving the River *Araxes* in its course from *Armenia*, dischargeth it self by 12 distinct Mouths or Channels into the *Caspian* Sea; although some others are of opinion, that *Araxes* does not fall into it, but that they flow very near one another, and so discharge themselves as Neighbours into the same Sea.) 'Tis true, 'twas in the power

Pompey's Wars with the Albanians and Iberians.

Cyrnus Fl.

I. 4

of

§. 10.  
Phraates King  
of Parthia.

of *Pompey* to have obstructed the Enemies Passage over the River, but he suffer'd them to pass over quietly ; and then drawing up his Forces and giving Battel, he routed them and slew a great number of them in the Field: But the King sent Ambassadors with his Submission, wherefore *Pompey* upon his Supplication pardon'd the Offence, and having enter'd into a League with him, he marched directly against the *Iberians*, an Army no less in number than the other, but much more warlike, and withal under a solemn Resolution both of gratifying *Mithridates*, and driving out *Pompey*: These *Iberians* were in no wise subject to the *Medes* or *Persians*, and they hapned likewise to escape the Dominion of the *Macedonians*, in that *Alexander* was so quick in his March through *Hyrcania*; but these also *Pompey* subdued in a great and bloody Battel, wherein there were slain 9000 upon the Spot, and more than 10000 taken Prisoners. From thence he went into the Countrey of *Colchis*, where *Servilius* met him by the River *Phasis*, having his Fleet (with which he guarded the *Pontick* Sea) riding at Anchor there; Now this pursuit of *Mithridates* seem'd to carry great Difficulties in it, for that he had conceal'd himself among the Nations that inhabit

about

about the *Bosphorus* and the Lake of *Meotis*; and besides, News was brought to *Pompey* that the *Albanians* had revolted again: This made him divert his Course, and bend his Forces against them with Resolutions full of Wrath and Revenge, insomuch that he passed back again over the *Cyrrus* with great Difficulty and Danger, for that the barbarous People had fortify'd it a great way down the Banks with Rampiers and Palisadoes; After this having a tedious long March to make through a thirsty and rough Countrey, he order'd 10000 Bottles to be fill'd with Water, and so advanced towards the Enemy; whom he found drawn up in order of Battel near the River *Abas*, to the number of 60000 Horse and 12000 Foot, ill arm'd generally, and many of them cover'd only with the Skins of wild Beasts: Their General was *Cossis* the King's Brother, who as soon as the Battel was begun, singled out *Pompey*, and rushing in upon him, darted his Javelin into the joynts of his Breastplate; which *Pompey* receiv'd, and in return, struck him through the Body with his Launce and slew him. 'Tis reported, That in this Fight there were several *Amazons* that came as Auxiliaries to these *Barbarians*, and that they came down from those Mountains that

Amazons.

run

run along by the River *Thermodon*; for that after the Battel when the *Romans* were taking the Spoyl and Plunder of the Field, they met with several Targets and Buskins of the *Amazons*, but there was not the Body of a Woman to be seen among all the dead; They inhabit those Parts of Mount *Caucasus* that look towards the *Hyrcanian* Sea, (not bordering upon the *Albanians*, for that the Territories of the *Gele* and the *Leges* lye betwixt:) And with these People do they yearly, two months only, accompany themselves, and cohabit Bed and Board near the River *Thermodon*; after that they retire to their own Habitations, and live alone all the rest of the year. After this Engagement *Pompey* was resolutely bent with his Forces upon the Countrey of *Hyrcania* and the *Caspian* Sea, but was forc'd to retreat after three days March, by reason of the venomous Serpents that were infinitely numerous in those Countreys; And so he fell into *Armenia the Less*; Whilst he was there, the Kings of the *Elymeans* and *Medes* dispatch'd Ambassadors to him, which he accepted of, and made his Returns as amicably by Letter; But for the King of *Parthia* who had made Incurfions upon *Gordyene*, and despoyl'd the Subjects of *Tygranes*, he sent an Army against him

He conquers the  
King of Par-  
thia.

un-

under the Command of *Afranius*, who put him to the Rout, and follow'd him in Chace as far as *Arbelitis*.

Among all the Concubines of King *Mithridates* that were brought before *Pompey*, he had not the carnal Knowledge of any one, but sent them all away to their Parents and Relations, for that most of them were either the Daughters or Wives of Princes and great Commanders; excepting only *Stratonice*, (who of all the *Stratonice*,  
rest had the greatest Power and Influence upon him, and to whom he had committed the Custody of his best and richest Fortress:) She (it seems) was the Daughter of a certain Musitian, an ancient Man, and of no great Fortune; but she happening to sing one night before *Mithridates* at a Banquet, struck his Fancy so, that immediately he took her to Bed with him, whereby he sent away the old Man much dissatisfy'd, in that he had taken his Daughter without one kind word to himself: But when he arose in the morning, and saw the Tables within richly cover'd with Plate of Gold and Silver, a great Retinue of Servants, Eunuchs and Pages attending him with rich Garments, and withal a Horse standing before the Door richly caparison'd, in all things as 'twas usual with the King's Favourites, he

he look'd upon it all as a piece of Pageantry, and thinking himself mock'd and abus'd in it, attempted to have slipp'd out of doors and run away ; but the Servants laying hold upon him, and informing him really, that the King had bestow'd on him the House and Furniture of a rich Nobleman lately deceased, and that these were but the first Fruits or small Earnests of greater Riches and Possessions that were to come, he was perswaded at last with much difficulty to believe them : Thereupon putting on his purple Robes, and mounting his Horse, he rode through the City, crying out, *All this is mine* ; And to those that laugh'd at him, he said, *There was no such wonder in this, but rather that he did not throw Stones at all he met, he was so transported with Joy* : Such was the Parentage and Blood of *Stratonice*. Now she deliver'd up this Castle into the hands of *Pompey*, and offer'd him many Presents of great value, whereof he receiv'd only such as he thought might serve to adorn the Temples of the Gods, and add to the Splendor of his Triumph ; the rest he left to *Stratonice's* Disposal, bidding her to please her self in the enjoyment of them. And in this manner did he deal with the Presents sent from the King of *Iberia*, ( who presented him with a Bedstead, Table,

ble, and a Chair of State all beaten Gold, desiring him to accept of them, but he deliver'd them all into the Custody of the publick Treasurers for the use of the Commonwealth.

In another Castle call'd *Canon*, or *New-Fort*, *Pompey* seiz'd upon several secret Writings of *Mithridates*, which he perus'd with no small delight, in that they discover'd in a great measure the King's Nature and Inclination ; For there were Memoirs whereby it appear'd, That besides divers others, he had made away his Son *Ariarathes* by Poyson, as also *Alcaus* the *Sardian*, for that he had gotten the better of him in an Horse-race : There were likewise several Judgements upon the Interpretations of Dreams, some of his own Visions and some of his Mistresses ; and besides these there was a pleasant Intercourse of wanton Love-Letters with his Concubine, *Monime* : Now *Theophanes* tells us, That there was found likewise a sharp Oration of *Rutilius*, wherein he attempted to exasperate him even to the slaughter of all the *Romans* in *Asia* ; Though most Men justly conjecture this to be a malicious Device of *Theophanes*, who hated *Rutilius*, for that he himself in comparison was but a Counterfeit to him ; or perhaps it might be to gratifie  
Pom-

*Pompey*, whose Father is describ'd by *Rutilius* in his History to be the vilest Man alive.

From thence *Pompey* came to the City of *Amisus*, where his Ambition led him to such odious Acts, as he himself had condemn'd in others before; For whereas he had often and sharply reproach'd *Lucullus*, in that, while the Enemy was yet in being, he had taken upon him to establish Laws, and distribute Rewards and Honours, as Conquerors use to do only when the War was brought to an end, yet now was he himself (while *Mithridates* was Paramount in the Realm of *Bosphorus* at the Head of a puissant Army) as if all were ended, just doing the same thing, regulating the Provinces, and distributing Rewards; Many great Commanders and Princes having flock'd to him, together with no less than 12 barbarous Kings; Insomuch as to gratify these other Kings, when he wrote to the King of *Parthia*, he would not condescend (as others us'd to do) in the Superscription of his Letter, to give him his Title of King of Kings.

Moreover he had a great Desire and Emulation, to take in *Syria*, and to march through *Arabia* to the *Red-Sea*, that he might extend his Conquest every way to the

§. II.  
Design'd for  
Syria, to compleat his Conquests.

the great Ocean, that does encompass the whole Earth; For in *Africa* he was the first Roman that advanced his Victories to the Ocean; and again in *Spain* he enlarg'd the Roman Empire, extending its Bounds to the *Atlantick Sea*; Then thirdly, in his late pursuit of the *Albanians*, he wanted but little of reaching the *Hyrceanian Sea*: Wherefore he rais'd his Camp, designing to bring the *Red-Sea* within the Circuit of his Expedition, especially for that he saw how difficult it was to hunt after *Mithridates* with an Army, and that he would prove a worse Enemy flying than fighting; But yet he declar'd, That he would leave a sharper Enemy behind him than himself, to wit, *Famine*, and therefore he appointed a Guard of Ships to lye in wait for the Merchants that sail'd to the *Bosphorus*, having prohibited all upon pain of Death that should attempt to carry Provisions or Merchandizes thither.

Then he set forward with the greatest part of his Army, and in his March he casually happen'd upon several dead Bodies of the *Romans* uninterr'd, which were of those Souldiers that were unfortunately slain with *Triarius* in the Wars against *Mithridates*, these he buried all spendidly and honourably; The neglect whereof, 'tis thought, caus'd the first Hatred against

L<sup>u</sup>.



*He subdued the Arabians, and reduced Syria and Judæa.*

*Lucillus*, and alienated the Affections of the Souldiers from him. *Pompey* having now by his Forces under the Command of *Afranius*, subdued the *Arabians* that inhabit about the Mountain *Amanus*, fell himself into *Syria*, and finding it destitute of any natural and lawful Prince, reduced it into the form of a Province, as an Inheritance of the People of *Rome*. He conquer'd *Judæa*, and alter'd the form of Government there, having taken King *Aristobulus* Captive; Some Cities he built anew, and others he set at Liberty, chastizing those Tyrants that brought them into Bondage. The greatest time that he spent there was in the Administration of Justice, deciding the Controversies of Kings and States, and where he himself could not be present in Person, he gave Commission to his Friends and sent them: Thus when there arose a Difference betwixt the *Armenians* and *Parthians* touching the Title of a Countrey, and the Judgment was referr'd to him, he gave a Power by Commission to three Judges and Arbiters to hear and determine the Question: For the Name of his Power indeed was great; Neither were the Vertues of his Justice and Clemency inferiour to that of his Power, whereby he cover'd a multitude of Crimes committed by his Friends

*His mild Temper.*

and

and Familiars about him; for although it was not in his Nature to check or chastize an Offendor, yet he would demean himself so to those that address'd with Complaints against them, that the Party griev'd went always away contented forgetting the Injuries, and patiently bearing even with their Covetousness and Oppression. Among these Friends of his, there was one *Demetrius*, that had the greatest Power and Influence upon him of any; he was a Bond-man infranchiz'd, one of a very good Understanding, however otherwise but a Youth, and somewhat too insolent in his good Fortune, of whom there goes this Story: *Cato* the Philosopher (being as yet a very young Man, but of great Judgment and a noble Mind) took a Journey of Pleasure to *Antioch*, having a great desire in *Pompey's* absence to see the City: He therefore, as his Custom was, walked on Foot, and his Friends accompani'd him on Horseback; But seeing before the Gates of the City a Multitude all in white Garments, (the young Men on one side of the Road and the Boys on the other) he was somewhat offended at it, imagining that it was officiously done in Honour of him, which was more than he requir'd; However he desired his Companions to alight and

*His Friend Demetrius.*

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walk with him: But when they drew near, the Master of the Ceremonies in this Proceſſion came out with a Garland and a Rod in his Hand, and met them, enquiring, *Where they had left Demetrius? and when he would come?* Whereupon *Cato's* Companions burſt out into a Laughter, but *Cato* ſaid only, *Alas poor City!* and paſſed by without any other Answer: Now 'tis clear that *Pompey* himſelf render'd *Demetrius* leſs odious to others, by enduring his Sawcineſs and Inſolence againſt himſelf: For 'tis reported how that *Pompey*, when he had invited his Friends to an Entertainment, would be very ceremonious in attending till they came and were all plac'd, whereas *Demetrius* would rudely ſeat himſelf at the Table with his Head cover'd even to his ears, before any one elſe could ſit down: Moreover before his Return into *Italy*, he had purchaſed the pleaſanteſt *Villa* or Country-Seat about *Rome*, with the faireſt Walks and Places for Exerciſe, and the moſt compleat Gardens, call'd by the Name of *Demetrius*, notwithstanding that *Pompey* his Maſter was contented with a mean and thrifty Habitation till his third Conſulſhip. Afterwards, 'tis true, when he had erected that famous and ſtately Theater for the People of *Rome*, he built

( as

(as an Appendix to it) an Houſe for himſelf much more ſplendid than his former, and yet as much beneath the ſtroak of Envy; Inſomuch as he that came to be Maſter of that Houſe after *Pompey*, could not but admire at it, and ſeem very inquisitive, *Where Pompey the Great uſ'd to ſup?* Thus are theſe things reported.

The King of *Arabia Petraea*, who had hitherto deſpis'd the Power of the *Romans*, now began to think it dreadful, and therefore diſpatch'd Letters to him, wherein he promis'd to be at his Devotion, and do what he would command; However *Pompey* having a deſire to confirm and keep him in the ſame Mind, march'd forwards for *Petra*; an Expedition not altogether irreprehenſible, in the opinion of many, for by this 'twas generally thought he did clearly decline the Chace of *Mithridates*, whereas they thought themſelves bound to turn their Arms againſt him as their inveterate Enemy, who now had blown up the Coal again, and reinforced his ſhattered Troops with freſh Preparations (as 'twas reported) to lead his Army through *Scythia* and *Pannonia* into *Italy*: *Pompey* on the other ſide, judging it eaſier to break his Forces in Battel, than ſeize his Perſon in

*He marches for Arabia Petra.*

M 2

Flight,

Flight, resolv'd not to tire himself out in a vain Pursuit, but rather to spend his time in diverting the War upon another Enemy, as a proper Digression in the mean while. But Fortune resolv'd the Doubt; for whilst he was yet not far from *Petra*, and had pitch'd his Tents and encamped for that day, as he was riding and managing his Horse without the Camp, there came an Express by the flying Post out of *Pontus* with good News, as was easily discernible afar off by the Heads of their Javelins that were crown'd with Branches of Laurel; The Souldiers as soon as they saw them, flocked immediately to *Pompey*, who notwithstanding was minded to make an end of his Exercise; but when they began to be clamorous and importunate, he alighted from his Horse, and taking the Letters, went before them into the Camp; Now there being no Tribunal erected there, nor yet any military Hillock, (such as they use to make by cutting up thick Turves of Earth and piling them one upon another) they through eagerness and impatience heap'd up a Pile of Pack-saddles, and *Pompey* standing upon that, told them the News of *Mithridates* his Death, how that he had laid violent hands upon himself, upon the Revolt of his Son *Phar-*

*ces*,

*ces*, and that *Pharnaces* had taken all things there into his hands and possession, which he did (as his Letters speak) in right of himself and the *Romans*: Upon this News the whole Army expressing their Joy (as was fit) fell to their Devotion in sacrificing to the Gods and Feasting, as if in the Person of *Mithridates* alone there had died many thousands of their Enemies.

*Pompey* by this occasion having brought this War to an end, with much more ease than was expected, departed forthwith out of *Arabia*, and passing cursorily through the intermediate Provinces, he came at length to the City *Amisus*; There he receiv'd many Presents brought from *Pharnaces*, and several Bodies of the Royal Blood, together with the Corps of *Mithridates* himself, which was not easie to be known by the Face, (for the Chyrurgion that embalm'd him had not dry'd up his Brain) but those who were very curious to see him, knew him by the Scars there; *Pompey* himself would not endure to see him, but to expiate the Wrath of the Gods, he sent it away to the City of *Sinope*; He admir'd the riches of his Robes, no less than the greatness and splendor of his Armour; The Scabbard of his Sword (that cost 400 Talents)

was stolen by *Publius*, and sold to *Ariarathes*; His *Cidaris* also or Crown, a piece of admirable Workmanship, being begged of *Caius* the Foster brother of *M. Tullius*, was given secretly to *Faustus* the son of *Sylla*; All which *Pompey* was ignorant of, but afterwards when *Pharnaces* came to understand it, he severely punish'd those that imbezell'd them.

§. 12.

He's a Lover of  
Arts and Sci-  
ences.

*Pompey* now having order'd all things, and established that Province, he took his Journey homewards in greater Pomp and State than ever; for when he came to *Mitylene*, he gave the City their Freedom upon the Intercession of *Theophrastus*, and was present at certain anniversary Games or Exercises, where the Poets in a virtuous Contention rehearse their Works, having at that time no other Theme or Subject than the Actions of *Pompey*; but he was exceedingly pleas'd with the Theater it self, and drew a Model or Platform of it, intending to erect one in *Rome* after the same form, but larger and with more Magnificence; When he came to *Rhodes*, he heard the Disputes of the Sophisters or Logicians there, and gave to every one of them a Talent; And *Posidonius* has written the Disputation which he held before him against *Hermagoras* the Rhetorician, wherein he was Opponent up-

upon the Question touching *Universale*. Καθ' ὅλην. At *Athens* also he did the like, and shew'd his Munificence among the Philosophers there, as he did likewise in bestowing 50 Talents towards the repairing and beautifying the City: So that now by all these Acts he well hoped to return into *Italy* in the greatest Splendor and Glory of any mortal Man, having likewise a passionate desire to be seen of his Family, where he thought he was equally desired: But that God, whose Province and Charge it is always to mix some Ingredient of Evil even with the greatest and most glorious Goods of Fortune, had privily provided a bitter Potion at home for him, whereby to make his Return more sorrowful; for *Maria* during his absence had dishonour'd his Bed; Whilst he was abroad at a distance, *Mucia divor-*ced. he gave little heed to the Report, but when he drew nearer to *Italy*, where the Report grew warmer, and that his Thoughts were at leisure to muse upon the Crime and Reproach, then he sent her a Bill of Divorce; but neither then in Writing, nor afterwards in Discourse, did he ever give a Reason why he discharged her, but the Cause is mention'd in *Cicero's Epistles*.

M 4

Now

Disbands his  
Army.

Now there were various Rumors scattered abroad touching *Pompey*, and were carried to *Rome* before him, so that there was a great Tumult and Stir, as if he design'd forthwith to march with his Army directly into the City, and establish himself in a Monarchy; Thereupon *Crassus* withdrew himself together with his Children and Fortunes out of the City, either that he was really afraid, or that he counterfeited rather, (as was most probable) to give credit to the Calumny, and exasperate the malice of the People. *Pompey* therefore as soon as he enter'd into *Italy*, called a general Muster of the Army, and having made an Oration suitable to the Genius of the Time and his Souldiers, and rewarded them liberally, he commanded them to depart every Man to his Countrey and place of Habitation, only with this Memento, that they would not fail to meet again at his Triumph. Thus the Army being disbanded, and the News of it commonly reported, there happened out an admirable Passage; For when the Cities saw *Pompey* the Great unarm'd, and with a small Train of familiar Friends only, (as if he was returning from a Journey of Pleasure, not from his Conquests) they came pouring in upon him out of pure Affection and Reverence,

at-

attending and conducting him to *Rome* with far greater Forces than he disbanded, insomuch that if he had design'd any Stirs or Innovation in the State, he might have done it without the Assistance of his Army. Now because the Law permitted no Man to enter into the City before the Triumph, therefore he sent to the Senate, entreating them to prorogue the Election of Consuls, and grant him the favour that with his presence he might countenance *Piso*, one of the Candidates at that time; but this was sharply oppos'd by *Cato*, whereby he fail'd of his Design; However *Pompey* could not but admire that liberty and boldness of Speech in *Cato*, wherewith he alone above all others durst openly engage in the maintenance of Law and Justice; he therefore had a great desire to win him over, and purchase his Friendship at any rate; and to that end, *Cato* having two Nieces, (Daughters of his Sister) *Pompey* propos'd one in Marriage for himself, the other for his Son; But *Cato* suspected the Motion, as a colourable Design of corrupting and bribing his Justice by Alliance, and therefore would not hearken to it; which was hainously resented by his Wife and Sister, that he should reject an Affinity with *Pompey* the Great;

About

About that time *Pompey* having a Design of setting up *Afranius* for the Consulship, gave a Sum of Money among the Tribes for their Voices, some whereof was receiv'd even in his own Gardens, insomuch that when this Practice came to be bruited abroad, *Pompey* was very ill spoken of, for that he who had had the Honour of that Government as a just Reward of his greater Merits, should now make Merchandize of that very Honour, for one that had neither Vertue or Courage to deserve it; Whereupon *Cato* took occasion to tell the Ladies, *Now*, said he, *had we contracted an Alliance with Pompey, we had been allied to this Dishonour too*; which when they heard, they could not but acknowledge and subscribe to him, as one of a more piercing Judgement in Matters of Prudence and Morality than themselves.

*His 3d. Triumph.*

The Splendor and Magnificence of *Pompey's* Triumph was such, That (though it held the space of two days, yet) they were extreemly straitned in Time, so that of what was prepared for that Pageantry, there was as much subducted, as would have set out and adorn'd another Triumph. But in the first place, there were Tables carried, wherein were written the Names and Titles of all those Nations

tions over whom he triumph'd, such as were, The Kingdoms of *Pontus*, *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Media*, *Colchis*, *Iberia*, *Albania*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and *Mesopotamia*, together with the Countreys about *Phenicia*, and *Palestine*, *Judea*, *Arabia*, and all the Power of the Pirats subdued by Sea and Land: And in these Countreys there appeared the taking of no less than 1000 Castles, nor much less than 900 Cities, together with 800 Ships of the Pirats, and the peopling of 39 Towns that lay desolate and depopulated: Besides, there was set forth in these Tables, an account of all the Tributes throughout the Roman Empire, and how that before these Conquests the Revenue amounted but to 5000 Myriads, whereas by his Acquisitions 'twas advanced to 8500, and withal that for Advance at present he brought into the common Treasury of ready Money, Gold and Silver, Plate and Jewels, to the value of 20000 Talents, over and above that which had been distributed among the Souldiers, whereof he that had least, had 1500 Drachma's for his share. The Prisoners of War that were led in Triumph, besides the Arch-Pirats, were the Son of *Tigranes*, King of *Armenia*, with his Wife and Daughter; as also *Zosime*, the Wife of King *Tigranes* himself.

himself, and *Aristobulus*, King of *Judea*. The Sister of King *Mithridates*, and her five Sons; and some Ladies of *Scythia*. There were likewise the Hostages of the *Albanians* and *Iberians*; and the King of *Comagena*; besides a vast number of Trophies, answering directly and deciphering out each particular Battel, in which he was Conqueror either himself in Person, or by his Lieutenants. But that that seem'd to be his greatest Glory, and that no other *Roman* ever attain'd to, was this, That he made his third Triumph over the third part of the World; For many among the *Romans* had the Honour of triumphing thrice; but his first Triumph, was over *Africa*, his second, over *Europe*, and this last, over *Asia*; so that he seem'd in these three Triumphs to have led the whole World in Chains.

§. 13.

As for *Pompey's* Age, those who affect to make the Parallel exact in all things betwixt Him and *Alexander* the Great, would not allow him to be quite 34, whereas in truth at that time he was near 40: Oh that he had crowned his days and breath'd out his last, even then when with *Alexander's* Age he had his Fortune too! But all the remainder of his Lifetime was extremely unfortunate, where- in his Prosperity became odious, and his

Ad-

Adversity incurable; For that great Power and Authority which he had gain'd in the City by his greater Merits, even that was made use of only in patronizing the Iniquities of others, so that by advancing their Fortunes, he detracted from his own Glory, till at last he was dashed in pieces by the force and greatness of his own Power: And as the strongest Citadel or Fort in a Town, when it is attack'd and taken by an Enemy, does then afford the same Strength to the Foe, as it had done to Friends before; so *Cesar* being exalted in the State by the Power of *Pompey*, overthrew and ruin'd him by the same Force and Arts by which he had trampled down others: And thus it came to pass.

*Lucullus*, when he return'd out of *Asia*, Impeach'd by Lucullus. where he had been despitefully treated by *Pompey*, met with an honourable Reception from the Senate, and much more when *Pompey* was present; for then they encourag'd him to reassume his Authority in the administration of the Government, whereas he was now grown cold and unactive in Business, having given himself over to his softer Pleasures, and the enjoyment of a splendid Fortune: Hereupon he began presently to bear up against *Pompey*, and took him up sharply, where- by

Joyns with the  
Commons.

Forſake's Cice-  
ro.

by he obtain'd thoſe Acts and Decrees of his, which were repealed by *Pompey*, to be re-eſta bliſhed, inſomuch that by the Aſſiſtance of *Cato* he had a greater Intereſt in the Senate than *Pompey* : Now *Pompey* having fallen from his Hopes in ſuch an unworthy Repulſe, was forced to fly to the Tribunes of the People for Refuge, and make his Intereſt with the light young Men of the Town ; Among whom there was one *Clodius* (the vileſt and moſt impudent Wretch alive ) undertook him, and expoſ'd him as a Tool to the Rabble ; for he had him always at his Elbow, even beneath his Dignity, carrying him up and down among the Throngs in the Market-place, to countenance thoſe Laws and Speeches which he made to cajole the People and ingratiate himſelf ; And at laſt for his Reward, he demand- ed of *Pompey*, ( as a thing no way diſhonourable but beneficial ) That he ſhould forſake *Cicero*, his great Friend, and one that had highly deſerv'd of him as an Advocate, in defending his Cauſes and Affairs in the Commonwealth ; Which he obtain'd afterwards, for when *Cicero* hap- pen'd to be in ſome Danger, and implored his Aid, he would not ſo much as admit him into his preſence, but ſhutting up his Gates againſt thoſe that came to mediate for

for him, ſlipt himſelf out at a Back-door ; whereupon *Cicero* fearing the extremity of Judgement, departed privately from *Rome*.

About that time *Cæſar* returning from his Province, hapned upon a politick De- vice that brought him into great Favour at preſent, and much increaſed his Power for the future, but in the event prov'd extremely deſtructive both to *Pompey* and the Commonwealth ; For now he ſtood Candidate for his firſt Conſulſhip ; and therefore well obſerving the Enmity be- twixt *Pompey* and *Cræſſus*, and finding how that in applying himſelf and joyning with one, he ſhould make the other his En-emy, he endeavour'd by all means to re- concile them, a Deſign in appearance ve- ry ſpecious, favouring of great Honesty and Civility, but in truth a very ſubtil and treacherous Practice in him ; for he well knew that oppoſite Parties or Fac- tions in a Commonwealth, like Paſſengers in a Boat, ſerve to trim and ballance the unſteady motions of Power there, where- as if they combine and run all over to one ſide, they make a dead unweildy Weight, whereby it overſets and all falls to wreck ; and therefore *Cato* wiſely told them, who charg'd all the Calamities of *Rome* upon the Civil Wars betwixt *Pompey* and *Cæ- ſar*,

*Cæſar's Arti-  
fice and Conſul-  
ſhip.*



far, That they were in a great Error, in charging all the Crime upon the last Cause; For 'twas not their Discord and Enmity, but their Unanimity and Friendship, that gave the first and greatest Wound to the Commonwealth.

*Cæsar* being thus elected Consul, began straightways to grow popular, and make an Interest with the poor and meaner sort, by preferring and establishing Laws for the planting of Colonies, and for dividing of Lands; whereby he debased the Grandeur of his Magistracy, and turn'd his Consulship in a manner to a meer Democracy, himself appearing rather a Tribune of the People than Consul: Now when *Bibulus* his Colleague oppos'd him, and that *Cato* was prepared to second *Bibulus*, and assist him vigorously, *Cæsar* to be even with them brought *Pompey* into the open Court, and there directing his Speech to him before the Tribunal, demanded his Opinion touching those Laws, who gave his Approbation; *Why then,* (said *Cæsar*) *in case any Man should offer violence to these Laws, wilt not thou be ready in assistance to the People?* Yes, (reply'd *Pompey*) *I shall always be ready, and against those that threaten the Sword, I'll appear with Sword and Buckler:* But nothing ever was either said or done by *Pompey* to

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that very day, that seem'd more insolent or odious to all Men than that one Saying; Inasmuch that his friends endeavour'd to palliate the Offence and make an Apology for it as a word slip't out of joynt through Inadvertency; but by his Actions and Practices afterwards it appear'd plainly, that he was totally devoted to *Cæsar's* service. For of a sudden *Pompey* beyond all men's expectation married with *Julia* the Daughter of *Cæsar*, who had been affianced before, and was to be married within a few days to *Cepio*: And to appease *Cæsar's* Wrath he gave him his own Daughter in Marriage, who had been espous'd before to *Fabius* the Son of *Sylla*: But *Cæsar* himself married *Calpurnia* the Daughter of *Piso*.

Upon this *Pompey* made a Garison of the City, and filling it with Souldiers carried all things by Force as he pleas'd; for as *Bibulus* the Consul was going to Court accompanied with *Lucullus* and *Cato*, they fell upon him of a sudden, and brake his Rods, the Ensigns of Government; and some Body threw a Close-stool of Ordure upon the Head of *Bibulus* himself; but the two Tribunes of the People, that went among his Guards before him, were desperately wounded in the Fray: And thus by these means having clear'd the

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Court

*Cæsar* courts  
the People.

*Lex agraria.*

*A Friend to  
Cæsar.*

*Marries Julia.*

Court of all their Adversaries, the *Lex agraria*, or Bill for the division of Lands, was established and passed into an Act: And not only so, but even the whole Populacy being thus decoyed and taken with this Bait, became totally at their Devotion, never regarding the Canvasses of the adverse Faction, but passing quietly by Suffrage what-ever they propounded: Thus they confirmed all those Acts and Decrees of *Pompey*, which were questioned and contested by *Lucullus*; and to *Cæsar* they granted the Provinces of *Gallia cisalpina* and *transalpina*, together with *Illyricum* for five years, and likewise a Battalion of four entire Legions; Then they elected Consuls for the year ensuing, *Piso* the Father-in-law of *Cæsar*, and *Gabinus*, one of the chiefest Parasites about *Pompey*.

*Piso and Gabinus Consuls.*

During all these Transactions, *Catulus* kept close within doors, nor did he appear publicly in Person for the space of eight months together notwithstanding he were Consul, but sent out Proclamations full of bitter Invectives and Accusations against them both; *Cato* turn'd Enthusiast, and, as if he had been possessed with a Spirit of Divination, did nothing else in the Senate but foretel what Judgements should befall the Commonwealth and *Pompey*. But

Luc.

*Lucullus* pleaded Dotage, and retir'd upon a Writ of Ease, as one already grown feeble and superannuate in the Affairs of State, which gave occasion to that Satirical Saying of *Pompey*, *That the Fatigues of Luxury were much more unseasonable for an old Man than those of Government*: Which in truth prov'd to be a Reflection upon himself, for not long after he himself grew effeminate in the Embraces of a young Wife, courting and caressing her daily up and down through all the Gardens and Places of Pleasure in the Country, whereby he neglected all the weighty Affairs of Courts and Councils: Insomuch that *Clodius*, who was then Tribune of the People, began to despise him, and engage in many bold Attempts against him; For when he had banished *Cicero*, and sent away *Cato* into *Cyprus* under a colourable pretence of War; when *Cæsar* was gone upon his Expedition to *Gaul*, and that he found how the Populacy was devoted to him, as a Man forming all things, and governing according to their pleasure, he attempted forthwith to unravel and repeal divers of *Pompey's* Decrees; thereupon he drew *Tigranes* the Captive out of Prison, and had him about with him as his Companion; he commenced likewise Actions and Accusations

*Clodius his Insolence to him.*

against several of *Pompey's* Friends, designing by these measures to take the extent of his Power: At last upon a time, when *Pompey* came to court in a certain Cause, this same *Clodius*, accompanied with a crowd of dissolute and desperate Ruffians, and standing up in an eminent Place above the rest, uttered himself in these or the like Questions, *Who's the licentious General? What Man is that, that is to seek for a Man? And who is it that scratcht his Head so nicely with one Finger?* The Rabble, upon the Signal of shaking his Gown, with a great Shout to every Question, as 'tis usual among Songsters in the Chorus or Burden of a Song, answer'd, *Pompey*: This indeed was no small Affliction to *Pompey*, a Man unaccustom'd to hear any thing ill of himself, and unexperienced altogether in such kind of Rencounters; but he was most extremely grieved, when he came to understand that the Senate rejoiced at this dirty Usage, and imputed it as a just Revenge or Punishment upon him for his Treachery to *Cicero*: But when it hapned through this Tumult in the Market-place, that it was come even to Blows and Wounds, and that one of *Clodius* his Bondslaves was apprehended, creeping through the crowd towards *Pompey* with a Sword in his hand,

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*Pompey* laying hold of this Pretence, (though perhaps otherwise apprehensive of *Clodius* his Insolence and Reproaches) never would go to any publick Assemblies, during all the time he was Tribune, but kept close at home and pass'd away his time in Consult with his Friends, by what means he might best allay the Displeasure of the Senate and Nobles against him; Among other Expedients, *Calpurnius* advised the Divorce of *Julia*, whereby he should meet with an easie passage from *Cæsar's* Friendship to that of the Senate; this he would not hearken to by any means: Others again advised him to call home *Cicero* from Banishment, a Man that was always the great Adversary of *Clodius*, and as great a Favourite of the Senate; to this he was easily perswaded, and therefore he brought *Cicero's* Brother into the Market-place attended with a strong Party, to petition for his Return, where, after a warm Dispute, wherein several were wounded and some slain, he got the Victory of *Clodius*: No sooner was *Cicero* return'd home upon this Decree, but that immediately he reconciled the Senate to *Pompey*; and withal by his Rhetorick in defence of the Law for Importation of Corn, did again, in effect, make *Pompey* Sovereign Lord of all the Roman Empire

*He calls home Cicero.*

*Announce the festival.*

by Sea and Land ; For by that Law he had got within the verge of his Jurisdiction all Ports, Staples, and Store-houses, and in short, all the Mysteries and Concerns both of the Merchant and Husbandman : Which gave occasion to that malicious Charge of *Clodius*, *That the Law was not made because of the dearth or scarcity of Corn, but the dearth or scarcity of Corn was made, that they might make a Law, whereby that Power of his, which was now grown sensible and consumptive, might be reviv'd again, and Pompey reinstated in a new Empire.* Others look'd upon it as a politick Device of *Spinther* the Consul, whose Design it was to oblige *Pompey* with a greater Authority, that he himself might be sent in assistance to King *Ptolomy* : However this is undoubtedly true, That *Canidius* the Tribune preferr'd a Law to dispatch *Pompey* in the nature of an Ambassador, without an Army, attended only with two Lictors or Vergers, as a Mediator betwixt the King and his Subjects of *Alexandria*. Neither did this Law seem ungrateful to *Pompey*, though indeed the Senate cast it out upon a specious Pretence, That they were unwilling to hazard the Person of so brave a Man : However there were found several Pamphlets scattered about the Market-place and Senate house, intimating

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ting how grateful it would be to *Ptolomy* to have *Pompey* appointed for his General instead of *Spinther* ; But *Timagenes* relates it otherwise, as if *Ptolomy* went away and left *Egypt* not out of necessity, but purely upon the perswasion of *Theophanes*, who designed an Advantage to *Pompey*, laying a Foundation for him of Wealth and a new Command : Yet for all this, the crafty Practices of *Theophanes* could not make this Report so credible, but that it was render'd much more incredible by that nobler Genius of *Pompey*, which would never allow of such base and disingenuous Arts even in favour of his Ambition.

Thus *Pompey* being appointed chief Provedore, and having within his administration and management all the Corn-trade, sent abroad his Factors and Agents into all Quarters, and he himself sailing into *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Africa*, made up vast Stores of Corn. And now being just ready to set Sail upon his Voyage homeward bound, there arose a mighty storm of Wind upon the Sea, which raised a Doubt even among the Commanders themselves, whether it were safe to break Ground or no ; wherefore *Pompey* himself went first aboard, and commanded the Mariners to weigh Anchor, declaring with a loud Voice, *That there was a necessity*

ty for them to sail, and a necessity to live: So that he by his Spirit and Courage (having met with that Fortune which favours the Bold) made a prosperous Return, whereby his Granaries were stor'd, the Markets all filled with Corn, and the Sea with Ships; insomuch as this great plenty and abundance of Provisions yielded a sufficient Supply not only to the City of *Rome*, but even Foreigners too, dispersing it self; like a lively Fountain through many Rivulets, into all Quarters of *Italy*.

§. 14.  
Cæsar's Practices.

All this time *Cæsar* grew great, and was highly extoll'd for his Wars and Conquests in *Gaul*, and when in appearance he seem'd farthest distant from *Rome*, as if he had been intangled in the Affairs of *Belgia*, *Suevia*, and *Britany*, then in truth was he working craftily by secret Practices in the midst of the People, and countermining *Pompey* in his chiefest Designs: For having his Army always about him as his Body, 'twas not his Design to weaken or impair it in a formal War against the barbarous Enemy, but by light Skirmishes only, no otherwise than in Sports of Hunting or Hawking, to exercise and harden it, whereby he made it invincible and dreadful to the World: Then for his Gold and Silver, (which was infinite) together with those incredible Spoys, and

and other Treasures which he had taken from the Enemy in his Conquests, all those he sent to *Rome* in Presents, and Bribes, tempting and corrupting the *Ædiles*, *Prætors*, and *Consuls*, together with their Wives, whereby he purchased to himself a multitude of Friends; insomuch that when he passed back again over the *Alpes*, and took up his Winter-Quarters in the City of *Luca*, there flocked to him an infinite number of the common People Men and Women even in Strife, and likewise 200 Senators at least, among whom were *Pompey* and *Crassus*; so that there were to be seen at once before *Cæsar's* Gates no less than sixscore Rods or Maces of *Proconsuls* and *Prætors*. As for the rest of his Addressors, he sent them all away full fraught with Hopes and Money; but for *Crassus* and *Pompey*, he enter'd into private Covenants and Articles of Agreement with them, That they should stand Candidates for the Consulship next year: That *Cæsar* on his part should send a good Company of Souldiers to give their Votes at the Election: That as soon as they were elected, they should use their Interest to have the Government of some Provinces and Legions assigned to themselves, and that *Cæsar* should have his Charge now in being confirmed to him for five years

years more : But afterwards when these Designs came to be discovered and noised abroad, the Matter was hainouly resent-ed by many Persons of the greatest Quality in Rome ; and therefore *Marcellinus* once in an open Assembly of the People demanded of them both, *Whether they designed to sue for the Consulship or no ?* And being urged by the People for their Answer, *Pompey* spake first and told them, *Perhaps he would sue for it, perhaps he would not ;* But *Crassus* was somewhat more politick, and said, *That for his part he would be ready to do what should be judg'd most agreeable with the Interest of the Commonwealth :* However *Marcellinus* still inveighing against *Pompey*, and seeming to reflect upon him more bitterly, *Pompey* replied as sharply, *That this Marcellinus was a most ungodly Wretch, without either Gratitude or Honour, for that by him he was made an Orator of a Mute, and of a poor Starving, one glutted even to a Vomit.*

Now notwithstanding divers fell off from their Pretences, and forsook their Canvas for the Consulship, yet *Cato* perswaded and encouraged *Lucius Domitius* not to desist, *For that*, said he, *the Contest now is not for Government, but for liberty against Tyrants and Usurpers.* Wherefore those of *Pompey's* Party, fearing that inflex-

flexible Constancy in *Cato*, ( whereby he ruled and governed the whole Senate ) lest by that likewise he should pervert and draw after him all the well-affected part of the Commonalty , resolved to withstand *Domitius* at first, and prevent his entrance into the Market-place ; To this end therefore they sent in a Band of armed Men, who, at the first Onset, slew the Torch-bearer of *Domitius*, as he was leading the way before him , and immediately put all the rest to Flight ; last of all *Cato* himself retired, having receiv'd a Wound upon his right Arm in defence of *Domitius*. Thus by these means and practices they obtained the Government, neither indeed did they behave themselves with more decency throughout all the rest of their Actions ; But in the first place when the People were choosing *Cato* Prætor, and just ready with their Votes for the Poll, *Pompey* broke up the Assembly, charging his Reasons upon the Augury, as if there had appeared something inauspicious in the Heavens ; and thereupon having corrupted the Tribes, they publicly proclaimed *Antias* and *Vatinus* Prætors : Then in pursuance of their Covenants with *Cæsar*, they published several Edicts by *Trebonian* the Tribune, whereby they made an Enlargement of *Cæsar's* Com-mis-

mission according to Agreement, measuring out another five years Charge to his former Province; To *Crassus* there was appointed *Syria*, and the *Parthian War*; And to *Pompey* himself all *Africa*, together with both *Spains*, and four Legions of Souldiers, whereof two he lent to *Cæsar* upon his request for the Wars in *Gaul*.

*Crassus* upon the expiration of his Consulship, departed forthwith into his Province; But *Pompey* spent some time in *Rome*, upon the opening or dedication of his Theater, where he treated the People with all manner of Games, Shews, and Exercises as well warlike as those of the Muses; there was likewise the hunting or baiting of wild Beasts, and Combats with them, wherein 500 Lions were slain; But above all, the Battel of Elephants was a Spectacle full of Horrour and Amazement.

These noble Entertainments brought him in great Esteem with the People, whereby he was highly admired and beloved; but on the other side he created no less Envy to himself, in that he committed the Government of his Provinces and Legions into the Hands of Friends as his Lieutenants, whilst he himself was wantonly rambling up and down, and caressing  
his

Pompey's  
Theater.

his Wife throughout all the Delicacies of *Italy*; whether he doated upon her as a real Lover, or whether he could not find in his heart to leave her, who was such a Lover of him? is somewhat doubtful; *Julia's Love to him.* But this is certain, that there was nothing more famous and common in Discourse, than the passion of this young Lady for her Husband; not that she was in Love with *Pompey* for the flower of his Age, but because of his assured Chastity, as knowing no other Woman, but that one he had wedded; Besides, though in his Carriage he had a majestick Gravity, yet his Conversation was not morose, but extremely agreeable, and taking among the Women, unless we will arraign the Evidence of *Flora* the Curtezan. Now it hapned in a publick Assembly, as they were at an Election of the *Ædiles*, that the People came to Blows, and divers about *Pompey* were slain, so that he, finding himself all bloody, order'd a change of Apparel; but the Servants who brought home his Cloaths, making a great Bustle and Hurry about the House, it chanced that the young Lady (who was then with Child) saw his Gown all stained with Blood, whereupon she dropt immediately into a Swoun, and was hardly brought to Life again; however what  
with

with her Fright and Passion together, she fell in Labour and miscarried: Wherefore even those who chiefly censured *Pompey* for his Friendship to *Cæsar*, could not reprove him for his Affection to his Lady, who had such a passion for him. Afterwards she was great again, and brought to Bed of a Daughter, but died in Child-bed, neither did the Infant out-live her Mother many days: *Pompey* had prepared all things for the Interment of her Corps at *Alba*, but the People seized upon it by force, and performed the Solemnities of her Funeral in the Field of *Mars*, rather in Compassion to the young Lady, than in Favour either of *Pompey* or *Cæsar*; and yet of these two, the People seemed at that time to pay *Cæsar* a greater share of Honour in his absence, than to *Pompey*, though he was present.

The Death of  
Julia.

Causes of the  
civil War.

From hence, the City began to waver, and feel new Commotions; for all things grew tumultuous, and every Body's Discourse tended to Sedition, as soon as Death had put an end to that Relation, which hitherto had been a Disguise rather than Restraint to the Ambition of these Men: Besides, not long after came an Express from *Parthia* with Intelligence of the Death of *Crassus* there, whereby another manifest Obstacle of a Civil War was taken

ken away; for they had both an Eye thither, and that awe of him kept them together in a fair Correspondence all his Life-time; but when Fortune had taken away this Second, whose Province it was to revenge the Quarrel of the Conquer'd, you might then say with the Comædian,

*See, how the Combatants begin!  
How they anoint each others Skin,  
And chase their hands in dust agen.*

So inconsiderable a thing is Fortune in respect of humane Nature! and so little Content can it give to a covetous Mind, That an Empire of that mighty Extent and Sway could not satisfy the Ambition of two Men, and though they knew and had read,

*The Gods, when they divided out 'twixt Three,  
This massie Universe, Heav'n, Hell, and Sea,  
Each God sate down contented on his Throne,  
And undisturb'd each God enjoys his own.*

Yet they thought the whole *Roman* Empire not sufficient to contain them, though they were but Two.

But *Pompey* in an Oration to the People told them plainly, that he ever came into  
Of-



Office before he expected he should, and that he always left it sooner than they expected he would; and indeed the disbanding of all his Armies always witnessed as much: Yet when he perceived that *Cæsar* would not so willingly discharge his Forces, he then endeavour'd to strengthen himself against him by Offices and Commands in the City; neither indeed did he attempt any other Innovation; and yet all this while he would not seem to distrust, but rather to despise and contemn him; But when he saw how they bestowed the Places of Government quite contrary to his opinion, because the Citizens were brib'd in their Elections, he left the City without any Government at all. Hereupon there was mention straightway made, and the News ran currant of a Dictator; Now *Lucilius*, a Tribune of the People, was the bold Man that first adventur'd to propose it, encouraging the People to make choice of *Pompey* for their Dictator; but the Tribune was in danger of being turn'd out of his Office, by the opposition that *Cato* made against it: And for *Pompey*, many of his Friends appear'd and pleaded his excuse, alledging, That he never was desirous of that Government, neither would he accept of it. *Cato* therefore making a large Harangue in common-

mendation of *Pompey*, and exhorting him to be careful of good Order in the Commonwealth, he could not for shame but yield to it, and so *Domitius* and *Messala* were elected Consuls.

Afterwards when there was another Anarchy or Vacancy in the Government, and the Discourses of a Dictator were much hotter than before, those of *Cato's* Party fearing lest they should make *Pompey*, thought it policy to keep him from that Arbitrary and Tyrannical Power, by giving him an Office of more legal Authority; Nay, even *Bibulus* himself, who was *Pompey's* Enemy, first gave his Vote that *Pompey* should be created Consul alone; alledging, *That by these means either the Commonwealth would be freed from its present Confusion, or that its Bondage should be lessened by serving the worthiest*: This was look'd upon as a very strange Opinion, considering the Man that spoke it; and therefore standing up, every Body expected that he would have opposed it, but after Silence made, he told them plainly, *That for his own part he would never have been the Author of that Advice himself, but since it was propounded by another, his Advice was to follow it, adding, That any form of Government was better than none at all; and that in a time so full* Ἀναρχία.

O of

He is chiefe Con-  
sul alone.

of Distraction, he thought no Man fitter to govern than Pompey. This Counsel was unanimously approv'd of, and an Act pass'd, that Pompey should be made sole Consul, with this Clause, That if he thought it necessary to have a Colleague, he might choose whom he pleased, provided it were not till after two months expired.

§. 15.

Thus was Pompey created and declar'd sole Consul by *Sulpitius*, Regent in this Vacancy; Upon which he made a very civil Complement to *Cato*, with many thanks for the Honour he had done him, and desiring his Assistance in the privy Council of his Government; To this *Cato* reply'd, That Pompey had no reason to thank him, for all that he had said, was in favour of the Commonwealth, not of Pompey; but that he would be always ready to serve him in the quality of a privy Counciller, if he please to require it, if not, yet he would be sure to speak in publick what he thought was for the Interest of the Commonwealth; So just was *Cato* in all his Actions.

At this Cor-  
nelia.

No sooner did Pompey return into the City, but he married *Cornelia* the Daughter of *Metellus Scipio*, not a Virgin but Widow, the late Relict of *Publius*, (the Son of *Craffus*) who died in *Parthia*, and with whom she cohabited from her Vir-  
gi-

ginity: This Lady, besides the Charms of her Beauty, had many attractive Qualities from her Education, for she was learned enough in most Sciences, play'd well upon the Lute, was skill'd in Geometry, and took great pleasure in hearing Discourses of Philosophy; To these may be added her Graces in Morality, and in this she was extremely commendable, that her Humour was free from Peevishness and Curiosity, Vices very common to Ladies of such liberal Endowments. Her Father also was very considerable, as well in the Honour of his Family as that of his own Vertues; however these unequal Marriages were not very pleasing to some sort of People, for *Cornelia's* Age was more agreeable with that of Pompey's Son than his own: But the wiser sort thought the Concerns of the City quite neglected, when he (to whom alone they had committed their broken Fortunes, and from whom alone, as from their Physician, they expected a Cure to these Distractions) went crown'd with Garlands, and was revelling in his Nuptial Feasts: never considering, that this Consulship was a publick Calamity, which would never have been given him contrary to the Rules of Law, had his Countrey been in a flourishing State. Yet afterwards he

took cognizance of those that got into Offices by Gifts and Bribery, and enacted Laws and Ordinances, setting forth the Rules of Judgement by which they should be arraign'd and impleaded; thus he regulating all things with Gravity and Justice, gave Security, Order, and Silence to their Courts of Judicature, himself giving his presence there with a Band of Souldiers. But the Case was alter'd when his Father-in-law *Scipio* was accused, there he sent for the 360 Judges to his House, and entreated them to be favourable to him, whereupon his Accuser, seeing *Scipio* come into the Court accompanied by the Judges themselves, let fall his Suit: Upon this *Pompey* was very ill spoken of, and much worse in the Case of *Plancus*; for whereas he himself had made a Law, wherein 'twas enacted, That no man should speak in praise of an Offendor, yet notwithstanding this Prohibition, he came into Court, and spoke openly in commendation of *Plancus*, in so much that *Cato* (who hapned to be one of the Judges at that time) stopping his Ears with his Hands, told him, *He could not in Honour bear an Offendor commended contrary to Law*; thereupon *Cato* was refused and set aside from being a Judge before Sentence was given, but

*Plan-*

*Plancus* was condemned by the rest of the Judges to *Pompey's* Dishonour: Shortly after *Hypsæus*, a Man of Consular Dignity, endeavouring to avoid an Impeachment, waited for *Pompey's* Return from Bath to Supper, and falling down at his Feet, implor'd his Favour, but he disdainfully pass'd him by, saying, *That he did nothing else but spoil his Supper*: This Partiality was look'd upon as a great Fault in *Pompey*, and highly condemned; however he managed all things else discreetly, and having put the Government in very good Order, he chose his Father-in-law to be his Colleague in the Consulship for the last five months: His Provinces also were continu'd to him for the term of four years longer, with a Commission to take 1000 Talents yearly out of the Treasury for the payment of his Army.

This gave occasion to some of *Cæsar's* Friends to think it reasonable, That some Consideration should be had of him too, who had done such signal Services in War, and fought so many bloody Battels for the Honour and Interest of the *Roman* Empire, alledging, *That he deserv'd at least a second Consulship, or to have the Government of his Province continu'd*, whereby he might command and enjoy in Peace what he had obtain'd in War, and that no Successor

might reap the fruits of his Labour, and raise a fame upon the glory of his Actions. There arising some Debate about this Matter, *Pompey* took upon him, as it were out of kindness to *Cæsar*, to plead his Cause, and allay that Hatred of the People that was conceived against him, telling them, That he had then receiv'd a Letter from *Cæsar*, wherein he desired a Successor, and to be discharged from the War, but hop'd withal, that they would give him leave to stand for the Consulship though in his absence; But those of *Cato's* Party stoutly withstood it, saying, *That if he expected any Favour from the Citizens, he ought to leave his Army, and come in a private capacity to canvass for it:* Wherefore *Pompey* seeming so easily satisfied, in that he made no Reply, gave a greater suspicion of his specious Inclinations towards *Cæsar*, especially when under pretence of his War with *Parthia*, he sent for his two Legions which he had lent him; however *Cæsar*, though he well knew for what Design he wanted them, sent them home very liberally rewarded.

About that time *Pompey* recover'd of a dangerous Fit of Sicknes that seiz'd him at *Naples*, and there the whole City, upon the Persuasion of *Praxagoras*, made Sa-

*He recover'd at Naples.*

crifices to the Gods for his Recovery; Those of the neighbouring Towns likewise happening to follow their Example, the Humour was carried on throughout all *Italy*; so that there was not a City either great or small, that did not feast and rejoyce for many days together: and the Company of those that came from all Parts to meet him was so numerous, that no Place was able to contain them, but the Villages, Sea-port Towns, and the very High ways, were all full of People, feasting and sacrificing to the Gods: Nay, many went to meet him with Garlands on their Heads, and Flambeaux in their Hands, casting Flowers and Nose-gays upon him as he went along; so that this Progress of his and Reception was one of the noblest and most glorious Sights imaginable: And yet 'tis thought that this very thing was not one of the least *Another Cause of the War.* Causes and Occasions of the Civil War; for *Pompey* judging of the Peoples Affections by their Actions, together with the greatness of their Joy, was grown to that height of Pride and Conceit, that (having laid aside that prudent Conduct and Caution which had hitherto secured and crown'd all his Actions with good Success) he entertained a most extravagant Confidence of his own, and Contempt of *Cæsar's*

far's Power ; infomuch that he thought neither Force nor Care necessary against him, but that he could pull him down much easier than he had set him up : Besides this there was *Appius* (under whose Command, those Legions which *Pompey* lent to *Cæsar*, were returned ) coming lately out of *Gaul*, very much vilified *Cæsar's* Actions there, and gave out scandalous Reports in derogation of his Honour, telling *Pompey*, *That he was unacquainted with his own Strength and Reputation, if he made use of any other Forces against Cæsar than his own, for such was the Souldurs Hatred to Cæsar, and their Love to Pompey so great, that they would all come over to him upon his first Appearance.* By these Flatteries was *Pompey* strangely pufft up, and his Confidence had wrought him into such a careless Security, that he could not choose but laugh at those who seem'd to fear a War : And when some were saying, That if *Cæsar* should bend his Forces against the City, they could not see what Power was able to resist him, he reply'd with a scornful Smile, bidding them take no care of that, for, said he, *When-ere I stamp with my Foot in any part of Italy, there will rise up Forces enough in an instant both Horse and Foot.*

Now

§. 16.

Now *Cæsar* on the other side was more vigorous in his Proceedings, himself always at hand hovering about the Frontiers of *Italy*, and sending some of his Souldiers continually into the City to attend all Elections with their Votes ; Besides this, he corrupted divers of the Magistrates, and brought them over to his Party by Penfions ; whereof *Paulus* the Consul was one, who was wrought over by a Bribe of 1500 Talents : And *Curio*, a Tribune of the People, by a discharge of all his Debts which he had contracted without number ; together with *Mark Anthony*, who out of Friendship to *Curio*, became bound with him in the same Obligations for them all. And 'tis undoubtedly true, That a Centurion of *Cæsar's* waiting at the Senate-house, and hearing that the Senate refused to give him a larger term in the continuance of his Government, clapt his Hand upon his Sword, and said, *But this shall give it :* and indeed all his Practices and Preparations were in order to this end. Now *Curio's* Demands and Request in favour of *Cæsar* were much more popular in appearance, for he desir'd one of these two things, either That *Pompey* should put away his Army, or that *Cæsar's* should not be taken away from him ; For if both of them were private Per-

Per-

Persons, common Humanity would keep them within the bounds of their Duty; or if they were of equal Authority, they would be a Ballance to each other, and sit down contented with their Lot: but he that weakens one, does at the same time strengthen the other, and so doubles that very Strength and Power which he stood in fear of before. *Marcellus* the Consul reply'd nothing to all this, but that *Cæsar* was a Thief, and should be proclaimed an Enemy to the State, if he did not disband his Army. However *Curio* with the Assistance of *Anthony* and *Piso* prevail'd, that the Matter in Debate should be put to the Question, and decided by Vote in the Senate: so that it being order'd upon the Question for those to withdraw, who were of opinion, *That Cæsar only should lay down his Army, and Pompey command*, the Majority withdrew. But when 'twas order'd again for those to withdraw whose Vote was, *That both should lay down their Arms, and neither command*, there were but 22 for *Pompey*, all the rest remained of *Curio's* side: Whereupon he, as one proud of his Conquest, leapt out for Joy among the People, who received him with as great tokens of Joy, clapping their Hands, and crowning him with Garlands and Flowers: *Pompey* was not then present

sent in the Senate, because it is not lawful for the General of an Army to come into the City. But *Marcellus* rising up, said, *That he would not sit there hearing Speeches, when he saw that ten Legions had already pass'd the Alpes in their March toward the City, but that he would send a Man of equal Authority against them in defence of their Countrey*: Upon this the City went into Mourning, as in a publick Calamity, and *Marcellus* (accompanied by the Senate) went solemnly through the City towards *Pompey*, and spoke thus to him, *Pompey, I command thee to appear in defence of thy Countrey with those Forces thou hast at present in readiness, and to raise more with all speed*: *Lentulus* the Consul elect for the year following, spoke much to the same purpose; But *Anthony*, contrary to an Order of Senate, in a publick Assembly read a Letter of *Cæsar's*, containing many fair Overtures, at least-wise very obliging to the common People, wherein he desir'd, *That both Pompey and he quitting their Governments, and dismissing their Armies, should submit to the Judgement of the People, and give an account of their Actions before them*; insomuch that when *Pompey* began to make his Levies, and muster up his new-raisd Souldiers, he found himself disappointed in his Expecta-

Etations : Some few indeed came in, but those very unwillingly ; others would not answer to their Names, and the generality cry'd out for Peace. *Lentulus*, notwithstanding he was now enter'd upon his Consulship, would not assemble the Senate ; but *Cicero*, who was lately return'd from *Cilicia*, labour'd for a Reconciliation, proposing, That *Cæsar* should leave his Province of *Gaul* and Army, reserving two Legions only, together with the Government of *Illyricum*, and to be had in nomination for a second Consulship : *Pompey* disliking this motion, *Cæsar*'s Friends were contented that he should quit one of his Legions too ; but *Lentulus* still opposing, and *Cato* crying out, *That Pompey did ill to be deceived again*, the Reconciliation did not take effect.

*Cæsar marches towards Rome*

In the mean time News was brought, That *Cæsar* had taken *Ariminum*, a great City in *Italy*, and was marching directly towards *Rome* with all his Forces ; but this latter was altogether false, for he had no more with him at that time than 300 Horse and 5000 Foot, and would not tarry for the Body of his Army, which lay beyond the *Alpes*, choosing rather by Surprize to fall in of a sudden upon his Enemies, ( while they were in Confusi-

on,

on, and did not expect him ) than to give them time to make Preparations for War. For when he came to the Bank of *Rubicon*, ( a River that made the bounds of his own Province towards *Italy* ) there he made a Halt, pausing a little, and considering with himself the greatness of that Enterprize which he had undertaken ; then at last, ( like men that are throwing themselves headlong from some Precipice into a vast Abyss ) having blinded and withdrawn his mind from the thoughts of Danger, he transported his Army, saying this only to those that were present with a loud voice in the Greek Language, *ἄρρηκτον κύβω* ; that is, *Let the Die be cast*. No sooner was the News arriv'd, but there was an Uproar throughout all the City, and a Consternation in the People even to astonishment, such as never was known in *Rome* before ; all the Senate ran immediately to *Pompey*, and the Magistrates follow'd : Now when *Tullus* made enquiry touching his Legions and Forces, *Pompey* seem'd to pause a little, and answer'd with some hesitation, *That he had those two Legions ready that Cæsar sent back, and for his new rais'd Forces, he believ'd they would shortly make up a Battallion of 30000 men* ; but *Tullus* reply'd with a loud voice, *O Pompey, thou hast deceiv'd us !* and present

sently gave his Advice to dispatch Ambassadors to *Cæsar*. *Favonius*, (who was no ill man, otherwise than in his petulant and abusive way of Talking, which he seem'd to affect, in imitation of *Cato's* freedom of Speech) he bid *Pompey* stamp upon the ground, and call forth the Forces he had promis'd. But *Pompey* very patiently bore with all this unseasonable Raillery; so that *Cato* putting him in mind of what he had foretold from the very beginning touching *Cæsar*, he made this Answer only, *That Cato indeed had spoke more like a Prophet, but he had acted more like a Friend*. *Cato* then advis'd them to choose *Pompey* General with absolute Power and Authority, saying, *That the same men who do great Evils, know best how to cure them*. He therefore went his way forthwith into *Sicily*, the Province that was allotted him; and all the rest of the Senators likewise departed every one to his respective Government.

§. 17.

Thus all *Italy* in a manner being up in Arms, it seem'd very doubtful what was best to be done: For they that were without, came from all Parts flocking into the City; and they that were within, seeing the Confusion and Disorder so great there, went out and forsook it as fast; They that were willing to obey were found too weak for

for Service, and the Disobedient were found too strong to be govern'd by the Magistrates: Nay, it was so far from being possible to allay their Fears, that they would not suffer *Pompey* to follow his own Judgement, but every man would have him act according to his particular Fancy, whether it proceeded from Doubt, Fear, Grief, or any meaner Passion; whereby they became so disordered in their apprehension of things, that even in the same day they were often forced to make use of quite contrary Counsels: Then again, 'twas altogether as impossible to have any good intelligence of his Enemies, for what each man heard by chance upon a flying Rumor, he would report for truth, and take it hainously of *Pompey* if he did not believe it.

*Pompey* at length seeing such a Confusion in *Rome*, determin'd with himself to put an end to their Clamours by his Departure, and therefore commanding all the Senate to follow him, and declaring, *That whosoever tarried behind, should be judg'd a Confederate of Cæsar's*; about the dusk of the Evening, he went out and left the City; the Consuls also follow'd after in a Hurry, without offering any Sacrifice to the Gods, as is usual before a War. But above all, *Pompey* himself was ex-

*Pompey leaves Rome.*



extreamly fortunate, that even in the midst of all these Calamities, he had the Love and Good-will of the People; for though many condemned the War, and Office of a General, yet no man hated the General himself; insomuch as there were more to be found of those that went out of *Rome*, for that they would not forsake *Pompey*, than of those that fled for love of their Liberty.

*Cæsar enters the City, and pursues him.*

Some few days after *Pompey* was gone out, *Cæsar* came into the City, and made himself Master of it, treating all the rest with a great deal of Courtesie, and appeasing their Fears, all except *Metellus*, one of the Tribunes; but when he refused to let him take any money out of the common Treasury, *Cæsar* threatened him with death, adding a sharper Sentence to his Threats, *That it was far easier for him to do it than say it*: Thereupon after he had turned *Metellus* out of his Office, and taken what moneys were of use for his occasions, he set forwards in pursuit of *Pompey*, endeavouring with all speed to drive him out of *Italy*, before his Army, that was in *Spain*, could joyn with him.

*Pompey sends his Army from Brundisium to Dyrrachium*

But *Pompey* arriving at *Brundisium*, and having provided a Fleet of Ships there, the two Consuls embarked immediately, & with them there were shipt off 30 Cohorts or Re-

Regiments of Foot bound before him for *Dyrrachium*: He sent likewise his Father-in-law *Scipio*, and *Cneus* his Son, into *Syria*, to provide and fit out a Fleet there; himself in the mean time having barred up the Gates, and fortified the Works of the City, placed his lightest Soldiers as Guards upon the Walls: and giving express Orders that the Citizens should keep within door, he cast up divers Trenches and Rampiers (which he fortify'd with Palisadoes or sharp-pointed Piles) throughout all the Streets of the City, except only those two that lead down to the Seaside or Haven.

Thus in three days space having with ease put all the rest of his Army on Ship-board, he suddenly gave the Signal to those that guarded the Walls, who as nimbly repairing to the Ships, were receiv'd and transported: *Cæsar*, when he perceived the Walls unguarded, imagining with himself that they were fled, made haste after, but in the heat of the pursuit was very nigh falling upon the Stakes and Trenches, had not the *Brundisians* prevented him; wherefore he wheeled about, and fetching a compass round the City, made towards the Haven, where he found all the Fleet under Sayl, excepting only two Vessels that had but a few Souldiers aboard.

P

Some

He is censured  
for leaving Italy.

Some are of opinion, that this Departure of *Pompey's* is to be ranged among the best of his Stratagems, but *Cæsar* himself could not but admire that he (who was ingarrison'd in a City well fortify'd, who was in expectation of his Forces from *Spain*, and was Master of the Sea besides) should ever leave and depart out of *Italy*: *Cicero* likewise blam'd him, in that he follow'd the Counsels of *Themistocles*, rather than of *Pericles*, whereas the state of his Affairs was more agreeable to the Circumstances of the latter, than those of the former: However it appear'd plainly, and *Cæsar* shew'd it by his Actions, that he was in great fear of the Times; for when he had taken *Numerius*, a Friend of *Pompey's*, Prisoner, he sent him as an Ambassador to *Brundisium*, with offers of Peace and Reconciliation upon equal terms; but *Numerius* sail'd away with *Pompey*: And now *Cæsar* being Master of all *Italy* in 60 days, without a drop of Blood-shed, had a great desire forthwith to follow *Pompey*; but being destitute of Shipping, he was forc'd to divert his course, and march into *Spain*, designing to joyn those Forces of *Pompey* there to his own.

*Cæsar goes for Spain.*

*Pompey's Army in Greece.*

In the mean time *Pompey* had rais'd a mighty Army both by Sea and Land; As for his Navy, 'twas altogether invincible,  
for

for there were 500 men of War, besides an infinite company of Gallies, Foists, and Pinaces: Then for his Land-Forces, the Cavalry made up a Body of 7000 Horse, the very flower of *Rome* and *Italy*, men of Honour, Wealth, and Courage; but the Infantry was a mixture of raw and unexperienc'd Souldiers, and therefore he exercis'd and train'd them up daily near the City *Brera*, (where he had quarter'd and lodg'd his Army) himself no ways slothful, but performing all his Exercises as if he had been in the flower of his Youth: This exemplary Conduct rais'd the Spirits of his Souldiers extreamly, for it was no small Encouragement for them to see *Pompey* the Great, 60 years of Age wanting two, one while trailing a Pike, and handling his Arms among the Foot in all his postures; then again mounted among the Horse, drawing out his Sword with ease in full career, and sheathing it up as easily; And in darting the Javelin, there he shew'd not only his skill and dexterity in hitting the Mark, but his strength and activity in throwing it so far, that few of the youngest went beyond him.

Several Kings and Princes of other Nations came thither to him, but there was a glorious appearance of *Roman* Magistrates, and so numerous, that they made  
of those that  
resorted to him.

up a compleat Senate; *Labienuſ* forſook his old Friend *Cæſar*, (whom he had ſerv'd throughout all his Wars in *Gaul*) and came over to *Pompey*; And *Brutus*, Son to that *Brutus* that was put to death in *Gaul*, a man of great Spirit, and one that to that day had never ſo much as ſaluted or ſpoke to *Pompey*, (looking upon him as the Murderer of his Father) came then and ſubmitted himſelf to him as the defender of their Liberty: *Cicero* likewise, (though he wrote and advis'd otherwiſe, yet) was aſham'd not to be accounted in the number of thoſe that would hazard their Lives and Fortunes for the ſafeguard of their Countrey: And laſt of all there came to him even into *Macedonia*, *Tidius Sextius*, a man extreamly old, and lame of one Leg; others indeed mock'd and laugh'd at the ſpectacle, but *Pompey* as ſoon as he ſaw him, roſe and ran to meet him, eſteeming it no ſmall aſſurance of their Good-will, when men of ſuch Age and Infirmities ſhould rather chooſe to be with him in danger, than in ſafety at home. Afterwards in a Council of War there paſſed a Decree, which was pronounced by *Cato* as Preſident, *That no Roman Citizen ſhould be put to death but in Battel, and that they ſhould not ſack or plunder any City that was ſubject to the Roman*

Em-

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*Empire*: By theſe means *Pompey's* Party grew into greater Reputation, inſomuch that they, who were no ways at all concern'd in the War, (either becauſe they dwelt aſar off, or were thought incapable by reaſon of their Infirmities) were yet in their opinions of his ſide, and did in all their Diſcourſes even fight for his Cauſe, calling it the good or juſt Cauſe, and eſteeming thoſe as Enemies to the Gods and Men that wiſhed not Victory to *Pompey*.

Neither was *Pompey's* Clemency ſuch, but that *Cæſar* likewise ſhew'd himſelf as merciful a Conqueror; for when he had taken and overthrown all *Pompey's* Forces in *Spain*, he gave them Quarter, leaving the Commanders at their liberty, and taking the common Souldiers into his own Pay: Then repaſſing the *Alpes*, and making a running March through *Italy*, he came to *Brundisium* about the Winter Solſtice, and croſſing the Sea there, landed at the Port of *Oricum*: Now *Cæſar* having *Jubius* (an intimate Friend of *Pompey's*) with him as his Priſoner, diſpatch'd him to *Pompey* in an Embaſſage, entreating, *That they meeting together in a Conference, as one, ſhould diſband both their Armies within three days, and renewing their former Friendſhip with ſolemn Oaths, ſhould return*

§. 18.

together into Italy. Pompey look'd upon this again as some new Stratagem or Device, and therefore marching down in all haste towards the Sea-coast, possess'd himself of all Forts and Places of Strength, (fit to encamp in, and secure his Land-Forces) as likewise of all Ports and Harbours commodious to receive any that came by Sea, so that what Wind soever blew, it must needs in some way or other be favourable to him, bringing in either Provision, Men, or Money: But *Cæsar* on the contrary was so distressed both by Sea and Land, that he was forc'd to desire Battel, daily provoking the Enemy, and assailing them in their very Forts; and in these light Skirmishes for the most part had the better, only once he was dangerously overthrown, and likely to have lost his whole Army; For *Pompey* having valiantly re-inforced the Battel, made a desperate Charge upon him, even to a total Rout of all his Army, and the Slaughter of 20000 upon the Place; but either he was not able to force their Camp, or he was afraid to fall in pell-mell together with them: Insomuch as *Cæsar* told some of his Friends, *How that day had given an absolute Conquest to the Enemy, if they had had but a man that knew how to conquer.* Pompey's Souldiers were so mightily encourag'd by this Victory, that

that they would needs have it put to the decision of a Battel; but *Pompey* himself (though he wrote to foreign Kings, Princes, and States in Confederacy with him, as a Conqueror, yet) was afraid to hazard the Success of a Battel, choosing rather by Delays, and distress of Provisions, to tire out those who had never yet been conquer'd by force of Arms, but had always, when they fought in a body, been accusom'd to Victory: Besides the Infirmities of their age, which now made them quickly weary of those other Hardships of War, (such as were long Marches, and frequent Decampings, making of Trenches, and building of Fortifications) made them willing to fight and venture a Battel with all speed.

*Pompey* had all along; hitherto by his Perswasions pretty well quieted his Souldiers; but after this last Engagement, when *Cæsar* for want of Provisions was forc'd to raise his Camp, and had passed through *Athamania* into *Thessaly*, it was impossible to curb or allay the heat of their Spirits any longer; For all crying out with a general Voice, *That Cæsar is fled*, some were for pursuing and pressing upon him; others for returning into *Italy*; some there were that sent their Friends and Servants before hand to *Rome*, to hire Houses

near the *Forum* or Market-place, whereby they might be in a readiness to sue for Offices and Places in the Government: But several were so vain as to sail for *Lesbos*, in a Complement to *Coruclia*, with this joyful News, *That the War was brought to an end*; (for *Pompey* had privately convey'd her thither from the Tumults in *Rome*.) Hereupon a Council of War was call'd, and the Matter being under debate, *Afranius* was of opinion, *That Italy should first be regain'd, for that it was the grand Prize and Crown of all the War*; and withal they who were Masters of that, would quickly have at their Devotion all the Provinces of *Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Spain, and Gaul*; but what was of greatest weight and moment, 'twas his own native Country that lay near, reaching out her Hand for his Help; and certainly it could not be consistent with *Pompey's* Honour to leave her thus expos'd to all Indignities, and in Bondage under Slaves, and the Flatterers of a Tyrant. But *Pompey* himself on the contrary, thought it neither honourable, to fly a second time before *Cæsar*, and be pursued, when Fortune had given him the Advantage of a Pursuit; nor indeed lawful before the Gods, to forsake *Scipio*, and divers other men of Consular Dignity dispers'd throughout *Greece* and *Thessaly*, who

must

must necessarily fall into *Cæsar's* Hands, together with all their Wealth and greater Forces: Then as to his Care for the City of *Rome*, that would most eminently appear, by removing the Scene of War to a greater distance, whereby she, being every way insensible of those Calamities that attend a War, might in Peace expect the Return of her Conqueror.

With this determination *Pompey* march'd forwards in pursuit of *Cæsar*, firmly resolv'd with himself not to give him Battel, but rather to besiege and distress him, by keeping close at his heels, straitning his Quarters, and cutting off all necessary Reliefs: Now there were other Reasons that made him continue this Resolution, but especially a Combination among the *Roman* Knights that came to his Ear, wherein they design'd, as soon as *Cæsar* was overthrown, to humble him too; and therefore, some report, it was for this Reason that *Pompey* never employ'd *Cato* in any Matter of consequence during the whole War; yet now, when he pursued *Cæsar*, he left him to guard his Baggage by Sea, fearing, if *Cæsar* should be taken off, lest, by *Cato's* means, he likewise not long after should be forc'd to lay down his Commission.

*He follows Cæsar into Thessaly.*

Whilst

Whilst he was thus slowly attending the Motions of the Enemy, his Friends began to charge upon him many Reproaches and Imputations, as if he did not use this Stratagem to deceive *Cæsar*, but his Country and the Senate, that he might always continue in Authority, and never cease to keep those for his Guards and Servants, who themselves were worthy to govern the World; besides that scoffing way of *Domitius Atrabarbatus*, continually calling him *Arummun*, and *King of Kings*, render'd him very odious: And *Ennius* his unseasonable Rallery did him no less injury, than those that took upon them a greater liberty of Speech, when in Drollery he cry'd out, *My Masters! you must not expect to gather any Figs in Tusculan this year.* But *Lucius Afranius* (who had lain under an imputation of Treachery in betraying the Army in *Spain*) when he perceiv'd that *Pompey* did industriously decline an Engagement, declar'd openly, *That he could not but admire, why those who were so ready to accuse him, did not go themselves and fight that Merchant of their Provinces.*

With these and many such like Speeches they wrought upon *Pompey*, (a man of that Honour and Modesty, that he could not bear a Reproach, neither would he dis-

disoblige his Friends) and forc'd him to break his Measures, so that he forsook his own prudent Resolution, only to follow their vain Hopes and Desires: Now if such an unsteady Conduct is blameable in the Pilot of a Ship, how much more in an Emperor, or the sovereign Commander of such an Army, and so many Nations; but he (though he has often commend-ed those Physicians who did not comply with the humorous Appetites of their Patients, yet) himself could not but yield to the diseased part of his Army, rather than he would use any severity in the Cure; and indeed who would not judge it Insanity, and want of a Cure in those men, who went up and down the Camp, suing already for the Consulship and Office of Prætor? Nay *Spinther*, *Domitius*, and *Scipio*, made Friends, rais'd Factions, and even quarrell'd among themselves, who should succeed *Cæsar* in the Dignity of his High-Priesthood, esteeming all as lightly, as if they were to engage only with *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, or some petty *Nabathæan* King, not with that *Cæsar* and his Army, that had storm'd a 1000 Towns, and subdued more than 300 several Nations; that had fought innumerable Battles with the *Germans* and *Gauls*, and always carried the Victory; that had taken a mil-

million of men Prisoners, and slain as many upon the Spot in pitch Battels.

§. 19. But as soon as they came to the Fields of *Pharsalia*, they grew very tumultuous, so that they forced him by their Pressures and Importunities to call a Council of War, where *Labienus* General of the Horse stood up, and first took the Sacrament, swearing, *That he would not return out of the Battel, until he had seen the Backs of his Enemies*; and all the rest took the same Oath. That night *Pompey* dream'd, That as he went into the Theater, the People receiv'd him with great Applause, and that he himself adorn'd the Temple of *Venus* the Conqueress with many Spoils: This Vision partly encourag'd, and partly disheartned him, fearing lest that Splendor and Ornament to *Venus* should be made with Spoils taken from himself by *Cesar*, who deriv'd his Family from that Goddess; besides there was a certain panick Fear run through the Camp, with such a noise that it awak'd him out of his Sleep: And about the time of renewing the Watch towards morning, there appear'd a great Light over *Cesar's* Camp, whilst they were all at rest, and from thence a Ball of flaming Fire was carried into *Pompey's* Camp, which *Cesar* himself said, he saw as he was walking his Rounds.

Now

Now *Cesar* having designed to raise his Camp before break of day, whilst the Souldiers were busie in pulling down their Tents, and sending away their Cattel and Servants before them with all their Bag and Baggage, there came in Scouts who brought word, that they saw several Arms carried to and fro in the Enemies Camp, and heard a noise and running up and down, as of men preparing for Battel: Not long after there came in other Scouts with farther Intelligence, That the first Ranks were already set in Battel array. Thereupon *Cesar*, when he had told them, *That the wish'd-for day was come at last, wherein they should fight with men, not with Hunger and Famine*, he presently gave Orders for the red Colours to be set up before his Tent, for that was usually the Signal of Battel among the *Romans*: As soon as the Souldiers saw that, they left their Tents, and with great Shouts of Joy ran to their Arms; The Officers likewise on their parts drawing up their Squadrons in order of Battel, every man fell into his proper Rank without any trouble or noise, as quietly and orderly as if they had been in a Dance: *Pompey* himself led up the right Wing of his Army against *Anthony*, and appointed his Father-in-law *Scipio* in the middle against *Lucius Albinus*.

The

The left Wing was commanded by *Lucius Domitius*, and re-enforced with several Regiments of Horse; for the whole Cavalry almost was plac'd there to distress *Cæsar*, and cut off the 10th Legion, which was accounted the stoutest in all the Army, and in which *Cæsar* himself always fought in Person. *Cæsar* observing the left Wing of the Enemy to be lind and guarded with such a mighty Guard of Horse, and fearing the Gallantry of that Battalion, he sent a Detachment of 6 Regiments out of the Forlorn, and plac'd them in the Rear of the 10th Legion, commanding them not to stir, lest they should be discover'd by the Enemy; but withal as soon as the Enemies Horse had made a Charge, and began to press upon them, that they should make up with all speed to the Front through the foremost Ranks, and not throw their Javelins at a distance, (as is usual among your valiant Warriors, that they may come to a close Fight with their Swords the sooner) but that they should dart them upwards into the Eyes and Face of the Enemy; telling them, *That those fine young Dancers would never endure the Steel shining in their Eyes, but would fly to save their handsome Faces.* This was *Cæsar's* Device at that time: But while he was thus instructing his Souldiers,

ers,

*Pompey* on Horseback was viewing the Order of both Battalions; and when he saw how well the Enemy kept their Ranks, expecting quietly the Signal of Battel; and on the contrary how impatient and unsteady his own men were, waving up and down in great Disorder for want of Experience, was very much afraid that their Ranks would be broken upon the first Onset; and therefore he gave out strict Orders, that the Vanguard should make a Stand, and keeping close in their Ranks should receive the Enemies Charge. But *Cæsar* did very much condemn his Judgement in this Stratagem, for that by taking away the power of an Assault, it does not only take off from the strength and force of a Blow, which is otherwise made with a spring upon an Incurfion, but it does likewise abate and blunt the edge of that Spirit and Fury which the Assailants carry with them, (and which is improv'd by Shouts and Running on) so that at last they become cold, unactive, and disheartned.

*Cæsar's* Army consisted of 22000, and *Pompey's* of somewhat above twice as many: Now when the Signal of Battel was given on both sides, and the Trumpets began to sound an Alarm, the generality of those present minded their own Charge, and



and the Matters that belong'd to themselves, only some few of the *Roman* Nobility, together with certain *Grecians* there present, (as Spectators, without the Battel, seeing the Armies ready to joyn) could not but consider in themselves to what a pass the Ambition and Emulation of these two had brought the *Roman* Empire; for the Weapons being of kin, and the Bands brethren, under the same common Banners, together with the flower and strength of the same City, clashing and falling foul upon one another even to the destruction of both, gave a clear demonstration of humane Nature, how senseless and void of Reason it is when 'tis blinded with Passion: For if they had been desirous only to rule, and enjoy in Peace what they had conquer'd in War, the greatest and best part of the World was subject to them both by Sea and Land; but if there was yet a thirst in their Ambition, that must still be fed with new Trophies and Triumphs; the *Parthian* and *German* Wars would yield Matter enough to satisfy the most covetous of Honour: Nay *Serbia* was yet unconquer'd, and the *Indians* too, where their Ambition might be colour'd over with the specious pretence of civilizing those barbarous Nations; and what *Serbian* Horse, *Parthian* Arrows,  
and

and *Indian* Riches, could be able to resist 70000 *Roman* Souldiers, well appointed in Arms, under the Command of two such Generals as *Pompey* and *Cæsar*? whose Names they had heard of before that of the *Romans*, and whose Prowess, by their Conquests of wild, savage, and brutish Nations, was spread farther than the Fame of the *Romans* themselves: But now they having laid aside the fence of their Honour, and with that their Piety too, not sparing their own Countrey, were engag'd in a Civil War, and dashing one another in pieces, who had both been accounted invincible till that day; and for the Alliance contracted betwixt them, the Charms of *Julia*, and that Marriage, those were look'd upon as Tricks of State, (only to palliate some sinister Design or Confederacy betwixt them) rather than Pledges of any real Friendship.

Now therefore as soon as the Plains of *Pharsalia* were covered with Men, Horse, and Armour, and that the Signal of Battel was given on either side, *Caius Crastinus*, a Centurion, (who commanded a Troop consisting of 120 men) was the first that advanc'd out of *Cæsar's* Army, to give the Charge, and acquit himself of a solemn Engagement, that he had made to *Cæsar*: for *Cæsar* as he was going out of  
Q his

§. 20.

his Tent in the morning, saw *Crastinus*, where after some Discourse he ask'd, *What his opinion was touching the event of that Battel?* To which he, stretching out his right Hand, reply'd aloud, *Thine is the Victory, oh Cæsar, thou shalt conquer gloriously, and I my self this day will be the Subject of thy praise either alive or dead:* In pursuance of this Promise he broke out of his Rank, and being follow'd by many more, charg'd into the midst of his Enemies; there they came presently to a close Fight with their Swords, and made a great Slaughter: but as *Crastinus* was still pressing forward, and breaking the Ranks of the Vanguard, a certain Souldier ran him in at the Mouth, so that the point of the Sword came out behind at his Neck; wherefore *Crastinus* being thus slain, the Fight became doubtful, and continued equal on that part of the Battel.

*Pompey* had not yet brought on the right Wing, but stay'd and view'd about, expecting what Execution his Cavalry would do in the left; now they had already drawn out their Squadrons in form, designing to encompass *Cæsar*, and force those few Horse, which he had plac'd in the Front, to give back upon the Battalion of Foot: But *Cæsar* on the other side having given the Signal, his Horse re-

treat-

treated back a little, and gave way to those 6 auxiliary Regiments, (being 3000 in number) which had been posted in the Rear, as an Ambush or Reserve, to prevent encompassing; these ran out, and fiercely charg'd the Enemy upon the Flank; but when they came up to the Horse, there they darted their Javelins upwards, according to their Instructions, and hit the young Gentlemen full in their Faces: Now these Gallants (as they were altogether unskilful in any manner of Fight, so least of all expecting or understanding such a kind as this) had not Courage enough to endure the Blows upon their Faces, but turning their Backs, and covering their Eyes with their Hands, were shamefully put to Flight: These being thus routed and put to Flight, *Cæsar's* Men did not follow the Chace, but turn'd their Forces back upon the Foot, and attack'd them on all parts of that Wing which lay naked and unguarded by the Horse, whereby they were presently surrounded and environ'd on every side; so that now being attack'd in the Flank by these, and charg'd in the Front by the 10th. Legion, they were not able to abide the Charge, or make any longer Resistance, especially when they saw themselves out-witted in their own Stratagem,

Q<sup>2</sup>

and

and circumvented in that Ambush, by which they design'd to have invested the Enemy: Thus these being likewise routed and put to flight, when *Pompey* saw it, and by the Dust flying in the Air, conjectur'd the same Fate of his Horse too, it were very hard to express his thoughts at that time, but he look'd more like one distracted and besides himself, than one that should have call'd to mind that he was *Pompey the Great*; and therefore he retired slowly towards his Camp, without speaking a word to any man, behaving himself exactly according to the description in these Verses,

*When Jove from Heav'n strook Ajax with a fear,  
Ajax the bold, he stood astonish'd there,  
And trembling gaz'd about without a Shield or Spear.*

In this state and condition he went into his own Tent, and fate him down speechless still, until some of the Enemies fell in together with his men that were flying into the Camp, and then he let fall only this one word, *What? into the very Camp?* and said no more, but rose up, and putting on a Garment suitable to his present Fortune, departed secretly.

By this time the rest of the Army was put to flight, and there was a great Slaugh-

Slaughter in the Camp among the Servants, and those that guarded the Tents; but of the Souldiers themselves, there were not above 6000 slain, as 'tis reported by *Asinius Pollio*, who was himself a Voluntier in this Fight of *Cæsar's* Party. When *Cæsar's* Souldiers had taken the Camp, they saw clearly the Folly and Vanity of the Enemy; for all their Tents and Pavilions were richly adorn'd with Garlands of Myrtle, painted Carpets and Hangings, their Couches straw'd with Flowers, and their Tables set full of Bowls and Glasses, and those even crown'd with Wine; nay, their foolish Hopes had puff'd them up with such vain Confidence, that their whole Preparation and Furniture was of People going to feast and sacrifice, rather than of men well arm'd and appointed for the Battel.

When *Pompey* had got a little way from the Camp, he dismounted and forsook his Horse, having but a small Retinue with him, and finding that no man pursu'd him, walk'd on softly afoot, taken up altogether with thoughts, such as probably might possess any man of his Quality and Circumstances, a man that for the space of 34 years together, had been accustomed to Conquest and Victory, and was then at last in his old Age beginning to know

the Calamities of War in Slaughter and Flight : And it was no small Affliction to consider, that he had lost in one hour all that Glory and Power, which he had been getting in so many Wars, and bloody Battels, and that he who but a little before was guarded with such an Army of Foot, so many Regiments of Horse, and such a mighty Fleet, was now flying in so mean a condition, and with such a slender Retinue, that his very Enemies who sought him could not know him. Thus when he had passed by the City of *Larissa*, and came into the Fields of *Tempe*, he being very thirsty, kneel'd down and drank out of the River ; then rising up again, he passed through those Valleys, until he came to the Sea-side, and there he betook himself to a poor Fisherman's Cottage, where he lodg'd all the remainder of the night : The next morning about break of day he went into a little Boat upon the River, and taking his Freeman along with him, dismissed the rest of his Servants, advising them to go boldly to *Cæsar* and not be afraid : As he was rowing up and down near the Shore, he chanc'd to spy a great Ship of Burden riding at Anchor, and just ready to set Sayl ; the Master whereof was call'd by the Name of *Petitius*, a Roman Citizen, who,

though

though he was not familiarly acquainted with *Pompey*, yet he knew him very well by sight : Now it hapned that this *Petitius* dream'd the night before that he saw *Pompey*, not like the Man he had often seen him, but in a despicable condition, and disconsolate, and in that posture was discoursing with him : He was then telling his Dream to the Passengers, (as men commonly do that are at leisure, and especially Dreams of that consequence) when of a sudden one of the Mariners told him, he saw a little Boat with Oars putting off from Shore, and that some of the men there shook their Garments, and held out their Hands, with Signs to take them in : Thereupon *Petitius* standing up, knew him immediately, seeing him in the same disguise as he appear'd in his Dream, and smiting his Hand on his Head, order'd the Mariners to let down the Ship's Boat, he himself lending his Hand, and calling him by the Name of *Pompey* ; in that he was already assur'd of his Change, and the change of his Fortune, by that of his Garb : So that without any farther Entreaty or Discourse he took him into his Ship, together with such of his Company as he thought fit, and hois'd Sayl : There were with him the two *Lentuli*, and *Favonius* ; and a little after they spy'd King *Deiotarus*,

rus, making up towards them from ashore, so they stayed and took him in along with them: At Supper time, the Master of the Ship having made ready such Provisions as he had aboard, Pompey, for want of his Servants, began to wash himself, which when Favonius perceiv'd, he ran to him, wash'd and anointed him; and always after continu'd to wait upon, and attend him in all things, as Servants do their Masters, even to the washing of his Feet, and providing of his Supper. In-  
 so-much that one there present, observing that free and unaffected Courtesie in his Services, broke out into these words,

*Lord! in the noble and the fair,  
 How graceful all things do appear!*

*Pompey sailing by the City of Amphipolis, coasted over from thence to Mitylene, with a design to take in Cornelia and his Son; as soon as he arriv'd at the Port in that Island, he dispatch'd a Messenger in-  
 to the City, with News very different from Cornelia's Expectation; for she, by all the former Messages and Letters sent to please her, had been put in hopes that the War was ended at Dyrrachium, and that there was nothing more remaining for Pompey, but the Chace of Cæsar: The Messenger find-*

*Letter.*

finding her in the same Hopes still, was not able to salute or speak to her, but declaring the greatness of her Misfortune by his tears rather than by his words, desir'd her to make haste if she would see Pompey, with one Ship only, and that none of his own: The young Lady hearing this, fell down all along in a Swoon, and continu'd so a long time senseless and speechless; she was scarce well recover'd of her Senses again, but being conscious to her self that this was no time for Lamentation and tears, she started up & ran through the City towards the Sea-side, where Pompey meeting and embracing her in his Arms, (as she was just fainting away and falling into a Swoon) she vented her passion in this manner: *This is the effect of my Fortune, dear Sir, not of yours, that I see you thus dejected and reduc'd to one poor Vessel, who before your Marriage with the unfortunate Cornelia, was wont to ride Admiral of these Seas with a Fleet of 500 Sails; why therefore should you come to see me, or why not rather have left her to a sadder Fate, who has been the Cause and Author of all your Misfortunes? How happy a Woman had I been, if I had breath'd out my last, before that fatal News from Parthia of the death of Publius, to whom I was wedded in my Virginity? and how prudent, if I had follow'd his Destiny,*

*as*

as I design'd? But I was reserv'd for a greater Mischiefe, even the ruine of Pompey the Great. Thus, they say, *Cornelia* spoke to him, and this was Pompey's Reply: Dear *Cornelia*, Thou hast hitherto known only one kind Fortune, which perhaps has deceiv'd thee in this, that she has been constant to me beyond her usual custom; but it behoves us, who are Mortals born, to bear with these Afflictions, and try our Fortune once again; neither ought we to despond, and rest hopeles, for that it is as possible to retrieve our former Happiness from this unlucky state, as it was to fall from that, into this present Calamity. Thereupon she sent for her Goods and Servants out of the City; the Citizens also of *Mitylene* came out to salute and invite Pompey into the City; but he refused, advising them to be obedient to the Conqueror, and fear not, for that *Cæsar* was a Man of great Goodness and Clemency: Then turning to *Cratippus* the Philosopher, (who came among the rest out of the City to visit him) he began to repine, and argue somewhat with him touching the Dispensations of Providence; but *Cratippus* very modestly declin'd the Dispute, putting him in better Hopes only, lest by opposing, he might seem too sharp or unseasonable: For when Pompey had put him a certain Question touching Providence,

and

and demonstrated how necessary it was, that the Commonwealth should be turn'd into a Monarchy, because of their ill Government in the State; he return'd the Question, But how, oh Pompey! and by what token or assurance may we be induc'd to believe, that if the Victory had been thine, thou wouldst have us'd thy Fortune better than *Cæsar*? But Providence is a point of Divinity belonging to the Gods, and ought to be let alone to act after its own method.

Thus Pompey having taken his Wife and Friends aboard, set Sayl, making no Port, nor touching any where, but when he was necessitated to take in Provisions, or fresh Water: The first Place he arriv'd at was *Attalia*, a City in *Pamphylia*, and whilst he was there, there came some Gallies thither to him out of *Cilicia*, together with a few Bands of Souldiers, and there he had almost 60 Senators with him again: Then hearing that his Navy was safe too, and that *Cato* had rallied a considerable Body of Souldiers after their Overthrow, and pass'd with them over into *Africa*, he began to complain and blame himself and his Friends too, in that they had forc'd him to engage by Land, without making use of his other Forces, (in which he was undoubtedly the stronger)

and

and had not kept near enough to his Fleet, that failing by Land, he might have reinforced his Troops from the Sea, and presently drawn out a Power equal and able enough to encounter the Enemy ; so that in truth neither did *Pompey* during all the War commit a greater Oversight, nor *Cæsar* use a more subtil Stratagem, than by drawing the Fight so far off from their Naval Forces.

Now *Pompey* being at present constrain'd to attempt and act somewhat according to his small Ability, he dispatch'd his Agents as Ambassadors to some of the neighbouring Cities, and himself sail'd about in Person to others, requiring their Aid in Money and Souldiers to victual and man out his Ships ; however fearing lest the sudden Approach of the Enemy might prevent his Preparations , he began to consider what Place would yield him the safest Refuge and Retreat at present : Thereupon a Consult being held, it was generally agreed upon, That no Province of the *Romans* was secure enough ; and touching foreign Kingdoms, he himself was of opinion, That *Parthia* must needs be the fittest both to receive and defend them in their present Distress, as well as to aid and furnish them with the greatest Forces : Others of the Council were for

going into *Africa*, and to King *Juba* ; but *Theophanes* the *Lesbian* thought it madness to leave *Egypt*, (that was but a Voyage of three days Sayling ) and forsake *Ptolomie*, ( who was just come of Age, and highly oblig'd to him for that Friendship and Favour which he had lately shewn to his Father ) only to put himself under the *Parthian*, and trust the most treacherous Nation in the World : Or what is worse, to subject himself to the Tyranny of *Arfaces* the King of *Parthia*, and make him his Lord, ( a Power which he was not able to compass in the Life-time of *Crassus* ) rather than try the Clemency of a generous *Roman*, and one that had been his Father-in-law, to whom if he would but yield to be Second, he might assure himself to be the first and chief over all the rest : Besides, he thought it would be great Cruelty to expose a young Lady, descended from the noble Family of the *Scipio*'s, among such a barbarous People, who govern by their Lusts, and measure their Greatness by their Power to commit Affronts and Insolencies ; from whom though she suffer no Dishonour, yet it would be thought she did, being in the Hands of those who had the power to do it : This Argument alone, they say, was so perswasive, as to divert his Course, that

that was design'd towards *Euphrates*, if it were so indeed that any Council of *Pompey's*, and not his own Fate, made him take this other way. As soon therefore as 'twas resolv'd upon, that he should fly into *Egypt*, he setting Sail from *Cyprus*, in a Galley of *Selencia*, together with *Cornelia*, (and the rest of his Company, some in Long-boats, and others in Ships of Burden sailing by) pass'd over Sea without danger. But when he understood that King *Ptolomie* was sat down with his Army in the City of *Pelusium*, making War against his Sister, he steer'd his Course that way, and sent a Messenger before to acquaint the King with his Arrival, and humbly crave his Protection: *Ptolomie* himself was a very young Man; and therefore *Pothinus*, the principal Minister of State, (having the sole Administration of all Affairs in the Government) call'd a Council of the chiefest Men at Court, (those being the greatest whom he pleas'd to make so) and commanded them every Man to deliver his Opinion touching the Reception of *Pompey*: Now 'twas a horrid thing to consider, That the Fate of *Pompey* the Great should be determin'd by such a Crew, as *Pothinus* an Eunuch, *Theodotus* of *Chios*, a mercenary Rhetorician, that taught Oratory,

as a Schoolmaster, for Reward, and *Achillas* an *Egyptian*; for these, with others of his Bed-chamber, and some of those who had a share in his Education, were the chief and leading Men in the Council; *Pompey*, (who thought it dishonourable for him to owe his Safety to *Cesar*) riding at Anchor a great way distant from Shore, was forc'd to wait the Result of this honourable Council: It seems they were different in their Opinions; Some were for sending the Man away, and others again for calling and receiving him; but *Theodotus*, to shew the power of his Eloquence and Rhetorick, undertook to demonstrate, that neither the one nor the other was safe in that Juncture of Affairs; for if they entertain'd him, they would be sure to make *Cesar* their Enemy, and *Pompey* their Master; or if they dismiss'd him, they might render themselves hereafter obnoxious to *Pompey*, for that inhospitable Expulsion, and to *Cesar*, for the Escape; so that the most expedient Advice would be to send and take away his Life, for by that means they would ingratiate themselves with the one, and have no reason to fear the other; adding, as 'tis reported, with a Smile, *That a dead Man cannot bite*. This Advice being approv'd of, they committed



ted the execution of it to *Achillas* : He therefore taking with him as his Accomplices, one *Septimius* , a Man that had formerly commanded a Brigade under *Pompey*, and *Salvius*, another Centurion, with three or four Officers more, made up towards *Pompey's* Galliey ; in the mean time all the chiefest of those who accompany'd *Pompey* in this Voyage, were come into his Ship to see the event of their Embassie : But when they saw the manner of their Reception, that in appearance it was neither princely, nor honourable, nor indeed any ways answerable to the Hopes of *Theophanes*, or their Expectation, (for there came but a few Men in a Fisherman's Boat to meet them ) they began to suspect the meanness of their Entertainment, and gave warning to *Pompey* that he should turn back, whilst he was out of their reach, and launch out into the main Sea : By this time the *Egyptian* Boat drew near, and *Septimius* standing up first, saluted *Pompey* in the Latin Tongue, by the Title of *Imperator* , or General ; Then *Achillas* saluting him in the Greek Language, desir'd him to come aboard his Vessel, telling him, that the Sea was very shallow towards the Shore, and that a Galliey of that Burden could not avoid striking upon some Shelve, or Quick sand :

At

At the same time they saw several of the King's Gallies well-mann'd, and all the Shore cover'd with Souldiers ; so that if they had chang'd their minds, it seem'd impossible for them to escape ; and besides, their Distrust would have giv'n the Assassins a colourable pretence for their Cruelty. *Pompey* therefore taking his leave of *Cornelia*, who lamented his Death before-hand, bid two Centurions, (*Philip*, one of his Free-men , and a Slave call'd *Seynes* ) go aboard of the *Egyptian's* Boat before him ; and as some of the Ships Crew belonging to *Achillas*, were reaching out their Hands to help him, he turn'd about towards his Wife and Son, and repeated those Iambicks of *Sophocles*,

*He that once falls into a Tyrants power,  
Becomes a Slave, though he were Free before.*

These were the last words he spoke to his Friends, and so he went aboard. When *Pompey* perceiv'd that, (notwithstanding there was a considerable distance betwixt his Galliey and the Shore, and yet none of the Ships Company had spoke a kind word to him all the way, he look'd earnestly upon *Septimius*, and spoke to him, *Me thinks I should know thee, Friend, have not we been formerly fellow-Souldiers, and serv'd*

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together in the Wars? But he only nodded with his Head, making no Reply at all, nor shewing any other manner of Civility: Since therefore they continu'd silent, *Pompey* took a little Book in his Hand, (wherein was written a Greek Oration, which he intended for King *Ptolomy*) and began to read it; Afterwards when they drew near to the Shore, *Cornelia*, (together with the rest of her Friends in the Galley) was very impatient to see the Event, and began to take Courage at last, when she saw several of the Court coming to meet him, imagining that it might be for a more honourable Reception; but in the mean time as *Pompey* took *Philip* by the hand, to rise up more easily, *Septimius* came first of all behind with his Sword, and run him thorow; next after him likewise *Salvius*, and *Achillas*, drew out their Swords. Wherefore *Pompey* taking up his Gown with both Hands, hid his Face, and neither saying nor doing any thing unworthy of himself, (only groaning a little) manfully endur'd the Wounds they gave him; and so ended his Life, in the 59<sup>th</sup>. year of his Age, the very next day after the day of his Birth. *Cornelia*, with her Company from the Galleys, seeing him murder'd, gave such a Shriek, that it was heard to the Shore, and weighing

An-

Anchor with all speed, they hoisted Sayl, and fled: The Wind serv'd them favourably from ashore, and assisted their Flight with a brisk Gale, whereby they presently got the main Sea, so that the *Egyptians*, failing of their aim, desisted from pursuing them. But they cut off *Pompey's* Head, and threw the rest of his Body over-board, leaving it naked upon the Shore, to be view'd by any that had the curiosity to see such a miserable Spectacle: *Philip* stay'd by and watch'd his Corps, till they had glutted their Eyes in viewing it, and then washing it with Sea-water, and having nothing else, he wrapt it up in one of his own Shirts for a Winding-sheet; then seeking up and down about the Sands, at last he found some rotten Planks of a little Fisher boat, not much, but yet enough to make up a Funeral Pile for a naked Body, and that not quite entire: As *Philip* was busie in gathering and putting these old Planks together, an old *Roman* Citizen, who from his Youth had serv'd in the Wars under *Pompey*, came to him and demanded, *Who he was that was preparing the Funerals of Pompey the Great?* And *Philip* making Answer, *That he was his Free-man*; Nay, said he, *but thou shalt not have this Honour alone, let even me too I pray thee have my share in such a pious Office,*

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that

that I may not altogether repent me of this Pilgrimage in a strange Land, but that in compensation of all my Misfortunes, I may obtain this Happiness at last, even with mine own Hands to touch the Body of Pompey, and pay my Devotion at the Obsequies of the greatest General among the Romans: and in this manner were the Funerals of Pompey perform'd. The next day Lucius Lentulus, not knowing what had pass'd, came sailing from Cyprus along the Shore of that Coast, and seeing a Funeral Pile, and Philip (whom he did not know at first) standing by, ask'd him, *Who it was that was dead and buried there?* But pausing a little with himself, and fetching a deep Sigh, *Perhaps*, said he, *even thou O Pompey the Great!* and so going ashore, he was presently apprehended and slain; This was the unfortunate End of Pompey the Great.

Not long after, Caesar coming into *Aegypt*, (that was then in very great Troubles) shew'd a great abhorrence of the Person that presented him with Pompey's Head, turning away from him as a most detestable Assassinate; but when he receiv'd his Seal, (whereon was engraven a Lion holding a Sword in his Paw) he burst out into Tears. *Achillas* and *Pethinus* he put to death; and King *Ptolomy* him-

himself, being overthrown in Battel upon the Banks of *Nilus*, fled away in disguise, and was never heard of afterwards: *Theodotus* the Rhetorician, flying out of *Aegypt*, escap'd the Hands of Caesar's Justice, but liv'd a Vagabond in Banishment, wandering up and down, despis'd and hated of all Men, till at last *Marcus Brutus* (after he had kill'd Caesar) finding him in his Province of *Asia*, put him to death, having first made him suffer the most exquisite Torments he could invent. The Ashes of Pompey were carried to his Wife *Cornelia*, who buried them in a Vault at his Countrey-house, near the City of *Alba*.

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THE  
PARALLEL  
OF  
POMPEY  
WITH  
AGESILAUS.

**T**HUS having drawn out the History or Lives of *Agésilæus* and *Pompey*, the next thing is to compare them, and in order to the Parallel wherein they agree, we'll take a cursory View, and touch upon some few passages that make the difference, shewing wherein they chiefly disagree ; which are these : In the first place, *Pompey* attain'd to all his Greatness and Glory by the just measures of his own Integrity, and so was advanc'd by himself; having often and desperately engag'd to-  
ge-

gether with *Syllæ*, in delivering *Italy* from the Usurpation of Tyrants : But *Agésilæus* appears to have usurp'd a Kingdom, not without offence to the Laws, both of Gods and Men ; Of these, by giving Judgment of Bastardy against *Leontichides*, the natural and lawful Son of his Brother, as appear'd by undoubted Evidence ; Of those, by putting a false Gloss upon the Oracle of the Gods, and eluding the Prophecie in the point of Lameness. Secondly, *Pompey* had a perpetual Veneration for *Syllæ* all his Life-time, and express'd as much after his Death, by making an honourable Interment of his Corps in despite of *Lepidus*, and giving his Daughter in Marriage to his Son *Faustus* : But *Agésilæus* upon a slight pretence cast off *Lyfander* with Reproach and Dishonour. So that in point of gratitude, *Syllæ* receiv'd in return from *Pompey* no less than he gave him, whereas *Lyfander* made *Agésilæus* King of *Sparta*, and General of all Greece. Thirdly, Those Transgressions of *Pompey* against the State and Laws, were occasion'd chiefly by his Relations, ( for that most of his Errors had some Affinity, as well as himself, to *Cæsar* and *Scipio*, they being both his Fathers-in-law : ) But *Agésilæus*, to gratifie the Amours or Lust of his Son, sav'd the Life of *Sphodria* by Violence,  
R 4

lence, when he deserv'd Death for those Injuries he had done to the *Athenians*; and 'tis manifest that he was openly and cordially an Abetter to *Phœbida*, (in the breach of the League with the *Thebans*) barely for the Iniquity of the Act it self. In short, what Mischiefe soever might be charg'd upon *Pompey*, as done through Modesty or Inadvertency against the *Roman* Government, the very same were committed by *Agésilas* against the *Lacedæmonians*, out of Obstinacy and Malice, he himself being the Incendiary of the *Beotian* War: And if by chance there was any thing common in the Offences of these two, that of *Pompey* was unexpected to the *Romans*; whereas *Agésilas* would not suffer the *Lacedæmonians* to avoid what they foresaw and heard must attend a lame or decrepit Kingdom; For had *Leotychides* been chargeable ten thousand times as foreign and spurious, yet the Race of the *Eurytionidae* was still in being, and there could never have been wanting one descended from that Line, to furnish *Sparta* with a natural and lawful King, and one that was entire in his Limbs too, had not *Lyfander* darkned and disguis'd the true sence of the Oracle in favour of *Agésilas*.

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But as for State-affairs, never was there such a politick piece of Sophistry, as was devised by *Agésilas*, in that great Perplexity of the People touching the *ῥέσυνος*, (or those who had cowardly deserted their Colours at the Battel of *Leuctra*, whereby they became obnoxious to the Law) when after that unhappy Defeat he decreed, *That the Laws should sleep for that day*: Neither indeed have we the fellow of it in all *Pompey's* Story; but on the contrary, *Pompey* for a Friend thought it no sin to break those very Laws which he himself had made, shewing at once both the force of Friendship, and the greatness of his Power: Whereas *Agésilas*, finding that he must of necessity have dissolv'd the Laws, to preserve the Lives of his Citizens, devis'd this Expedient, whereby the Laws might not hurt them, though they were not dissolv'd. Then I must needs commend this as an incomparable Act of civil Vertue and Obedience in *Agésilas*, That immediately upon the receipt of the *Scytali*, (or Scrowl of Parchment, with a Countermand from the *Ephori*) he left the Wars in *Asia*, and return'd into his Countrey; for that he did not act generally, as *Pompey* did, (in those things by which he made himself Great) for the interest and benefit of the Commonwealth; who

who for his Countreys sake laid aside as great Authority and Honour, as ever any Man had before or since, except *Alexander the Great*: But now for some other Head.

And if we'll take a view of *Pompey* in his military Expeditions, and Exploits of War, in the number of his Trophies, and the greatness of the Armies which he commanded, together with the multitude of Battels in which he triumph'd as a Conqueror, I am perswaded even *Zenophon* himself would not put the Victories of *Agessilaus* in Ballance with his, though he has this Priviledge allow'd him, (as a singular Reward for all his other Vertues) that he may write and speak in favour of his Hero what-ere he pleases. Methinks too there is a great deal of difference betwixt these Men, in their Clemency and Moderation towards their Enemies; For whilst *Agessilaus* was attempting the Conquest of *Thebes*, and Destruction of *Messene*, (this being the entire Lot of his own \* Countrey, and that the Metropolis of *Beotia*) he had almost lost *Sparta* it self, but did really lose the Government of *Greece*; whereas *Pompey* gave Cities to those of the Pirates who were willing to change their manner of Life; And when 'twas in his power to have led *Tigranes*,  
King

\* Sicily.

King of *Armenia*, in Triumph, he chose rather to make him a Confederate of the Romans, saying, *That he preferr'd an eternal Honour before the Glories of one day*. But if the Preheminence, in that which chiefly relates to the Office of a General, (consisting of a steady resolution upon the wisest Acts and Counsels of War) might be given to a Commander of the best Conduct, the *Lacedaemonian* would not a little exceed the *Roman* in that; for *Agessilaus* never deserted his City, though it was besieg'd by an Army of 70000 Men, when there were very few Souldiers within to defend it, and those had been baffled too but a little before at the Battel of *Leuctra*: But *Pompey* (when *Cesar* with a Body only of 5300 Men, had taken but one Town in *Italy*) departed timorously out of *Rome*, either through Cowardise, when there were so few, or at least through a vain Imagination, that there were more; and having convey'd away his Wife and Children, he left all the rest of the Citizens defenceless, and fled; whereas he ought either to have conquer'd in Fight for the defence of his Countrey, or yielded upon terms to the Conqueror, for he was his fellow-Citizen, and ally'd to him: But now to that same Man, (to whom he deny'd an Enlarge-

largement in the term of his Government, and thought it intolerable to grant another Consulship) even to him he gave a Power, ( by letting him take the City ) to tell *Metellus* the Tribune , together with all the rest, *That they were his Prisoners*. That therefore, which is chiefly the Office of a General, to put the Enemy upon a necessity of Fight, when he finds himself the stronger, and to avoid it when he is the weaker ; that Property being singular in *Agesilaus*, he always kept himself invincible : And this was *Cæsar's* Talent too, that when he was the weaker, he could at any time by fencing with *Pompey*, decline the Danger ; and when he was the stronger, he forc'd him to Battle by Land, even to the hazard of all, whereby he became Master of the Treasury, Stores, and the Sea too, which were all in his Enemies Hands, and by which he had his constant Supplies without fighting. Now that which is alledg'd as an Apology in vindication of *Pompey*, is the greatest Crime in so great a General ; for 'tis true, for a young Commander by Tumults and Noise to be wrought into a Fear and Easiness, whereby he may forsake the safest Councils, is neither strange, nor altogether unpardonable ; But for *Pompey* the Great, whose Camp the Ro-

mans

*mans* call'd their Countrey, and his Tent the Senate, styling the Consuls, Prætors, and all other Magistrates, ( that had taken upon them the Administration of the Government at *Rome* ) by no better Title than that of Rebels and Traitors ; for him, I say, whom they well knew, never to have been under the Command of any but himself, ( having nobly finish'd his course of Warfare under himself, as sole General in all the Wars he made ) who could excuse him, that upon so small a Provocation, ( as the Scoffs of *Favonius* and *Domitius*, and lest he should bear the Nick-name of *Agamemnon* ) should be wrought upon, and even forc'd to hazard the whole Empire and Liberty of *Rome* upon the cast of a Dye ? In him, I say, 'twas intolerable, who, if he had so much regarded a present Infamy, should have guarded the City at first with his Arms, and fought valiantly in defence of *Rome*, not have left it as he did, colouring his Flight over with the Stratagem of *Themistocles* ; and yet after all this, to imagine that there could be any Reproach in a wary Delay before the Battel in *Thessaly*, was as inexcusable : For neither did God appoint the *Pharsalian* Fields, to be the Stage and Theater upon which they should contend for the Empire of *Rome*, neither

was

was he summon'd thither by any Herald upon Challenge, with intimation, that he must either undergo the Combat, or surrender the Crown to another ; But there were many other Fields, thousands of Cities, and even the whole Earth, that he might have had by the Advantage of his Fleet, and Forces at Sea, if he would but have follow'd the Examples of *Maximus*, *Marinus*, *Lucullus*, and even *Agessilaus* himself ; who endur'd no less Tumults within the City of *Sparta*, when the *Thebans* provok'd him to Battel for the residue of his Countrey ; He endur'd likewise many Calumnies and Accusations in *Egypt*, through the Imprudence of the King there, entreating his patience constantly ; but following always what he had determin'd in his own Judgement upon mature Advice, he did by that means, not only preserve the *Egyptians* against their wills, not only keep *Sparta* constantly upon its Legs, even in those desperate Convulsions, but set up Trophies likewise in the City against the *Thebans*, giving them afterwards an occasion of Victory, in that he did not at that time lead them out, as they would have forc'd him, to their destruction ; insomuch that at last *Agessilaus* was highly commended, even of those who provok'd their own Ruine, after they found

found he had sav'd their Lives against their wills : Whereas *Pompey*, ( whose Errors had always some other Authors ) found those to be his Accusers, upon whom he had plac'd his chiefest confidence ; and some say, that he was deceiv'd by his Father-in-law *Scipio*, for that he, ( designing to conceal and keep to himself the greatest part of that Treasure, which he had brought out of *Asia* ) did press *Pompey* to Battel, upon this pretence, that there would be a want of Money ; however admitting this to be true, yet such a General ought not to have been so easily deluded, and led into an Error, even to the hazard of all the greatest Concerns in the Commonwealth : And thus we have taken a View of each, by comparing them together in their Conduct, and Actions in War. As to their Voyages into *Egypt* : One steer'd his Course thither out of necessity in Flight ; the other neither honourably, nor of necessity, but as a mercenary Souldier, having lifted himself into the Service of a barbarous Nation for Pay, that he might be able to wage War upon the *Gracians* : Lastly, That which we charge upon the *Egyptians* in the Name of *Pompey*, the *Egyptians* return again in an Accusation against *Agessilaus* ; For one was barbarously



ly betray'd and murder'd by those whom he trusted : The other betray'd his Trust, and deserted them, having upon his Revolt gone over to the Enemy, (that was now making War upon *Aegypt*) notwithstanding he came at first, as an Auxiliary to the *Aegyptians*.

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THE

ALEXANDER.



M. Burghers sculp

THE  
LIFE  
OF  
ALEXANDER  
the Great.

English'd from the Greek.

It being my purpose to write the Lives The Author's Design.  
of *Alexander* and *Cæsar*, by whom  
*Pompey* was destroyed, the multitude  
of their great Actions affords me so large  
a Field, that I were to blame if I should  
not by way of Apology acquaint my Reader,  
that I have chosen rather to epitomize  
the most celebrated parts of their  
Story, than to insist at large on every par-  
S ti-

ticular Circumstance of it ; especially when I consider my Design is not to write an History, but Lives. Neither do the most glorious Exploits always furnish us with the clearest discoveries of Vertue, or Vice in Men ; sometimes a Matter of less moment, an Expression, or a Jest, informs us better of their Manners, and Inclinations, than the most famous Sieges, the greatest Armies, or the bloudest Batrels whatsoever. Therefore as those who draw by the Life, are more exact in the first Lines, and Features of the Face, from which we may often collect the Disposition of the Person, than in the other Parts of the Body : so I shall endeavour by penetrating into, and describing the secret Recesses, and Images of the Soul, to express the Lives of Men, and leave their more shining Actions and Achievements to be treated of by others.

In writing  
Lives.

Alexander's  
Family.

It is agreed on by all Hands, that on the Father's side *Alexander* descended from *Hercules* by *Caranus*, and from *Æacus* by *Neoptolemus* on the Mothers side. His Father *Philip* being in *Samothrace* when he was young, fell in Love there with *Olympias*, with whom he was initiated in the religious Ceremonies of the Countrey, and her Father and Mother being both dead, soon after with the consent of her

her Brother *Arimbas* married her. The night before the consummation of the Marriage, she dream'd that her Belly was struck with Lightning, which kindled a great Fire, whose divided Flames dispers'd themselves all about, and then were extinguish'd. And *Philip* some time after he was married, dream'd that he seal'd up his Wives Belly with a Seal, whose impression, as he fancied, was the Figure of a Lion. Some interpreted this as a warning to *Philip* to look narrowly to his Wife ; but *Aristander* of *Telmessus* considering how unusual it was to seal up any thing that was empty, assured him the meaning of his Dream was, that the Queen was with Child of a Boy, who would one day prove as stout and courageous as a Lion. Not long after a Dragon was observ'd to lye close by *Olympias* while she slept ; upon which *Philip's* Affection to her sensibly abated : for whether he fear'd her as an Inchantress, or thought she had commerce with some God, and so look'd on himself as unequal to such a Rival, he was ever after less fond of her Conversation. Others say, that the Women of this Countrey having always been extremely addicted to perform the Enthusiastick Ceremonies of *Orpheus* and *Bacchus*, (upon which account they were called

*Philip's Dream*

\* Furious,  
and warlike.

\* *Clodones*, and *Mimallones*) did in many things imitate the *Edonian* and *Thracian* Women about Mount *Hæmus*, from whom the word *Speronev* seems to be deriv'd, signifying superfluous and over-curious Sacrifices: that *Olympias* zealously affecting these Fanatical and Enthusiastick Inspirations, to perform them with more barbarick Dread, was wont in the Dances proper to these Ceremonies, to have great tame Serpents about her, which sometimes creeping out of the Joy, and the Mystick Fans, sometimes winding themselves about the sacred Spears, and the Womens Chaplets, made it a dreadful Spectacle to those who beheld them.

He consults the  
Oracle.

*Philip* after this Vision sent *Chæron* of *Megalopolis* to consult the Oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, by which he was commanded to sacrifice to, and most respectfully adore *Jupiter Hammon* above all other Gods; and was told he should one day lose that Eye with which he presum'd to peep through the Chink of the Door, when he saw the God in the form of a Serpent so familiar with his Wife. *Eratoſthenes* says, that *Olympias* when she brought *Alexander* on his way to the Army in his first Expedition, told him the Secret of his Birth, and exhorted him to behave himself with Courage suitable to his divine

vine Extraction. Others again affirm, that she wholly declin'd this Vanity, and was wont to say, *Will Alexander never leave making Juno jealous of me?*

*Alexander* was born the 6<sup>th</sup>. of June, <sup>The Birth of Alexander.</sup> (which month the *Macedonians* call *Lous*) the same day that the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus* was burn'd; upon which occasion *Hegeſias* of *Magnesia* has an expression so mean and cold, as might have serv'd to have extinguish'd the Flames: *Diana* says, he deserv'd to have her Temple burnt, for leaving the care of it to play the Midwife at the Birth of *Alexander*. All the Priests and Soothsayers who happened to be then at *Ephesus*, looking upon the Ruine of this Temple to be the forerunner of some other Calamity, ran about the Town, beating their Faces, and crying, that day had brought forth something that would prove fatal and destructive to all *Asia*.

Presently after *Philip* had taken *Posidea*, he receiv'd these three Messages on the same day: That *Parmenio* had overthrown the *Illyrians* in a great Battel; that his Race horse had won the Course at the *Olympick Games*; and that his Wife was brought to bed of *Alexander*; with which being extremely pleas'd, as an addition to his Satisfaction the Diviners assur'd him, that a Son whose Birth was accompanied

with three such Successes, could not fail of being invincible.

His Person described.

The Statues that most resembled *Alexander*, were those of *Lysippus*, by whom alone this Prince would suffer his Image to be carv'd; and these chiefly did most of his Successors and Friends afterwards imitate; the Artist having express'd the inclination of his Head a little on one side towards his left Shoulder, and his \* melting Eye with incomparable exactness. But *Apelles*, who drew him with Thunderbolts in his Hand, made his Complexion browner and darker then it was naturally, for he was fair, having a mixture of ruddiness, chiefly in his Face, and upon his Breast. *Aristoxenus* in his Memoirs tells us, that an admirable Scent proceeded from his Skin, and that his Breath and Body all over was so fragrant, as to perfume the Cloaths which he wore next him; the cause of which might probably be the hot and adust Temperament of his Body: for sweet Smells, as *Theophrastus* conjectures, are produced by the concoction of moist Humours by Heat, which is the reason that those Parts of the World which are driest, and most burnt up, afford Spices of the best kind, and in the greatest quantity; for the heat of the Sun exhausts the superfluous moisture, which

\* ὕψους.

ge-

generates Putrefaction in Bodies. And this hot Constitution it may be, rendred *Alexander* so addicted to drinking, and so cholerick.

His Temperance as to the Pleasures of the Body, was apparent in him in his very Childhood, being with much difficulty incited to them, and always using them with great moderation: though in other things he was extremely eager and vehement. In his love of Glory, and the pursuit of it, he shew'd a solidity of Judgment, and Magnanimity far above his Age; for he neither sought, nor valued it upon every slight occasion, as his Father *Philip* did, (who affected to shew his Eloquence almost to a degree of Pedantry, and took care to have the Victories of his Racing Chariots at the *Olympick* Games engraven on his Coin:) but when he was asked by some about him, whether he would run a Race, for he was very swift-footed? he answer'd, He would, if he might have Kings to run with him. He often appointed Prizes, in which not only Tragedians and Musicians, Pipers and Harpers, but Rapsodists also strove to outvie one another: and delighted in all manner of Hunting, and Cudgel-playing, but never gave any encouragement either to playing at Fifty-cuffs, or that \* Sport in which all

And Exercises

\* Ταγματῶν

Weapons were to be made use of. While he was yet very young, he entertain'd the Ambassadors from the King of *Persia*, in the absence of his Father, and falling into Conversation with them, gain'd so much upon them by his Affability, and the Questions he asked them, which were far from being childish, or trifling: (for he enquir'd of them the length of the Ways, the Passages into the upper parts of *Asia*, the Character of their King, how he carried himself to his Enemies, and what Forces he was able to bring into the Field :) that they were struck with admiration of him, and look'd upon the Diligence and so much fam'd Conduct of *Philip*, to be nothing in comparison of the forwardness, and great Spirit, that appeared so early in his Son. Whensoever he heard *Philip* had taken any Town of importance, or won any signal Victory, instead of rejoycing at it, he would in a deploring manner tell his Companions, that he fear'd his Father would anticipate every thing, and leave him and them no opportunities of performing great and illustrious Actions. For being more addicted to Vertue and Glory, than either to Pleasure or Riches, he esteem'd all that he should receive from his Father, as a diminution and prevention of his own fu-

His Magnanimity.

future Atchievements; and would have chosen rather to succeed to a Kingdom involv'd in Troubles and Wars, which would have afforded him frequent exercise of his Valour, and a larger Field of Honour, than to one already flourishing and settled, where he must lead an unactive Life, and be as it were buried in the sordid enjoyments of Wealth and Luxury.

The care of his Education (as it much <sup>His Education and Tutors.</sup> imported) was committed to a great many *Preceptors* and Tutors, over whom *Leonidas*, a near Kinsman of *Olympias*, a Man of an austere temper, presided: He declining the title of *Preceptor*, though a Charge of sufficient Honour and Reputation, because of his Dignity and Relation, was called *Alexander's* Foster-father and Governour. But he who took upon him the Place and Name of his Pedagogue, was *Lyfimachus* the *Acaranian*, who though he had nothing of worth to recommend him, but his luck to call himself *Phoenix*, *Alexander Achilles*, and *Philip Pelus*, was therefore well enough esteem'd and rank'd in the next degree after *Leonidas*.

*Philonicus* the *Thessalian* brought the <sup>He tames Bucephalus.</sup> Horse *Bucephalus* to *Philip*, offering to sell him for 13 Talents; but when they went in-

into the Field to try him, they found him so very vicious and unmanageable, that he stood up an end when they endeavour'd to back him, and would not so much as endure the voice of any of Philip's Attendants: upon whose dislike, as they were leading him away as wholly useless and untractable, Alexander who stood by, would not let them, saying, *What an excellent Horse do they lose, for want of address and boldness to manage him?* Philip at first took no notice of what he said; but when he heard him repeat the same thing, and saw he was troubled to have the Horse sent away; *Do you reproach,* said he to him, *those who are elder than your self, as if you knew more, and were better able to manage him than they?* Yes, replied he, *with this Horse I could deal better than any body else.* And if you do not, said Philip, *what will you forfeit for your Rashness?* By Jove, answer'd Alexander, *the whole price of the Horse.* At this the whole Company fell a laughing; but as soon as the Agreement was made between them about the Money, he presently ran to the Horse, and taking hold of the Bridle, turn'd him directly towards the Sun, having it seems observ'd he was disturb'd at, and afraid of the motion of his own Shadow: then letting him go forward a little, still keeping

ing the Reins in his Hand, and stroking him gently, when he found him begin to be very brisk and fiery, he let fall his upper Garment softly, and with one nimble Leap securely mounted him, and when he was seated, by little and little straitned the Bridle, and curb'd him without either striking or spurning. Afterwards when he perceiv'd his dangerous fury and heat was abated, but yet not without great impatience to run, he let him go at full speed, not only encouraging him with a commanding Voice, but pressing him forward also with his Heel. All who were present beheld this Action at first with silent astonishment, and inward concern: till seeing him turn at the end of his Career, and come back rejoicing and triumphing for what he had perform'd, they all burst out into acclamations of Applause; and his Father weeping for joy, kiss'd him as he came down from his Horse, and in his Transport said, *O my Son, look thee out a Kingdom equal to, and worthy of thy great Soul, for Macedonia is too little for thee.*

After this, considering him to be of a Temper easie to be led to his Duty by Reason, but by no means to be compell'd, he always endeavour'd to persuade, rather than to command or force him to any

any thing ; and now looking upon the institution and accomplishment of his Youth, to be of greater difficulty and importance, then to be wholly trusted to those Masters who only taught him Musick, and other superficial and vulgar Sciences, and to require, as *Sophocles* says,

*The Bridle, and the Rudder too :*

Aristotle, A-  
lexander's  
Tutor.

He sent for *Aristotle*, the most knowing and celebrated Philosopher of his time, and rewarded him with a Munificence proportionable to, and becoming the care he took to instruct his Son. For he re-peopled his native City *Stagira*, which he had caused to be deserted a little before, restor'd all the Citizens who were in Exile or Slavery, to their Habitations, and assign'd them \* *Nymphæum* for their Studies and Exercises, near the Town of *Mieza*, where to this very day they shew you *Aristotle's* stone Seats, and the shady Walks which he was wont to frequent. It appears that *Alexander* receiv'd not only the Rules of Morality and Policy from him, but that more abstruse and solid part of Learning which is seldom communicated to the Vulgar. For when he was in *Asia*, and heard *Aristotle* had publish'd some Treatises of that kind, he wrote to him

\* A College.

him with great freedom in the behalf of Philosophy in this manner : *Alexander to Aristotle greeting. You have not done well to set forth your Books of select Knowledge, for what is there now that I can surmount others in, if those things which I have been particularly instructed in, be laid open to all ? For my part I assure you, I had rather excel others in the knowledge of what is excellent in its kind, then in the extent of my Power and Dominion. Farewel. Aristotle, to appease and comply with this noble Ambition of Alexander*, answer'd him, That those Treatises, which were his Metaphysicks, were indeed publish'd, but not plainly expos'd to every bodies Capacity. For to say truth, they are written in such a style, that they are only an useful and instructive System to those, who have been already long conversant in that sort of Learning. Doubtless it was to *Aristotle's* Precepts that he owed the inclination he had not barely to the Theory, but likewise to the Practice of Physick : for when any of his Friends were sick, he would often prescribe them their course of Diet, and Medicines proper to their Disease, as we may find in his *Epistles*. He was naturally a great lover of all kind of Learning, and mightily addicted to Reading ; and *Onesicritus* informs us, That he constantly laid

His Letter to  
Aristotle.

His inclination  
to Learning.

Ho-



*Homer's Iliads* corrected by *Aristotle*, with his Dagger, under his Pillow, declaring that he esteemed them an exact Institution, and perfect Store-house, of all military Vertue and Knowledge. When he was in the higher Provinces of *Asia*, being destitute of other Books, he order'd *Harpalus* to send him some, who furnish'd him with *Philestus* his History, a great many of *Euripides*, *Sophocles*, and *Æschylus* his Tragedies, and some Dithyrambick Hymns compos'd by *Telestes* and *Philaxenus*. For a while he lov'd and cherish'd *Aristotle* no less, as he was wont to lay himself, then if he had been his Father, giving this Reason for it, that as he receiv'd his Being from the one, so the other had taught him to live well. But afterwards having some mistrust of him, yet not so far as to do him any Prejudice, his Familiarity and friendly Kindness to him abated so much, as to make it evident he was very indifferent to him. However his violent Thirst after, and Respect for Learning, which were born, and still grew up with him, never decay'd, as appears by his veneration of *Anaxarchus*, by the Present of 50 Talents which he sent to *Xenocrates*, and his particular Care and Esteem of *Dandamis* and *Calanus*.

While

While *Philip* made War against the *Byzantines*, he left *Alexander*, then 16 years old, his Lieutenant in *Macedonia*, committing the charge of his Great Seal to him, who not to sit idle, reduc'd the rebellious *Meda*, and having taken their chief Town by Storm, drove out the barbarous Inhabitants, and planting a Colony of several Nations in their room, call'd the Place after his own Name *Alexandropolis*. At the Battel of *Cheronea*, which his Father fought against the *Grecians*, he is said to have been the first Man that charg'd the *Thebans* sacred Band. And even in my remembrance there stood an old Oak near the River *Cephissus*, which the Countrey People call'd *Alexander's Oak*, because his Tent was pitch'd under it. And not far off are to be seen the Graves of the *Macedonians*, who fell in that Battel. This early Bravery made *Philip* so fond of him, that nothing pleas'd him more, then to hear his Subjects call *Alexander* their King, while they allow'd himself no other Title then that of their General.

But the Disorders of his Family, chiefly caused by his new Marriages, and extravagant Loves, (the whole Kingdom being soon in a manner imbroil'd by the Women) rais'd many Quarrels, and great Breach-

His Courage, and early entrance upon Action.

His Differences with his Father.

Breaches between them, which the ill Nature of *Olympias*, a Woman of a jealous and implacable Temper, still made wider, by exasperating *Alexander* against his Father. Among the rest, this Accident contributed most to their falling out. At the Wedding of *Cleopatra*, whom *Philip* in his Dotage had married, she being much too young for him, her Uncle *Attalus* in his Drink, desir'd the *Macedonians* would implore the Gods to give them a lawful Successor to the Kingdom by his Neece. This nettled *Alexander* so, that throwing one of the Cups at his Head, *You Villain*, said he, *what am I then, a Bastard?* Then *Philip* taking *Attalus* his part, rose up, and would have ran his Son through; but by good fortune for them both, either his over-hasty Rage, or the Wine he had drank, made his Foot slip, so that he fell down on the Floor. At which *Alexander* most reproachfully insulted over him: *See there*, said he, *how low he lyes, not able to remove from one Seat to another, who was making such Preparations to pass out of Europe into Asia.* After this insolent Debauch, he and his Mother *Olympias* went from Court, and when he had plac'd her in *Epirus*, he himself retir'd into *Illyria*.

About

About this time *Demaratus* the *Corinthian*, an old Friend of the Family, who had the freedom to say any thing among them without offence, coming to visit *Philip*, after the first Complements and Embraces were over, *Philip* asked him, *Whether the Grecians liv'd in Amity with one another?* *It ill becomes you*, replied *Demaratus*, *to enquire after the State of Greece, who have involv'd your own House in so many Dissentions and Calamities.* He was so convinc'd by this seasonable Reproach, that he immediately sent for his Son home, and at last by *Demaratus* his Mediation prevail'd with him to return. But this Reconciliation lasted not long; for when *Pexodorus*, Viceroy of *Caria*, sent *Aristocritus* to treat a Match between his eldest Daughter, and *Philip's* Son *Arideus*, seeking thereby to enter into a League offensive and defensive with him: *Alexander's* Mother, and some who pretended to be his Friends, presently fill'd his Head with Tales and Calumnies, as if *Philip* by this splendid Alliance, and considerable Negotiation, intended to settle the Kingdom upon *Arideus*. To prevent this, he dispatches one *Thessalus*, a Player, into *Caria*, to dispose *Pexodorus* to slight *Arideus*, both as illegitimate, and a Fool, and rather to accept of himself for his Son.

Reconcil'd by  
Demaratus  
the Corinthian.Break out a-  
gain.

T

in

in-law. This Proposition was much more agreeable to *Pexodorus* than the former. But *Philip* as soon as ever he was made acquainted with this Transaction, went directly to his Sons Apartment, accompanied only by *Philotas*, one of his most intimate Friends, the Son of *Parmenio*, and there reprov'd him severely, and reproach'd him bitterly, that he should be so degenerate, and unworthy of the Crown he was to leave him, as to desire the Alliance of a mean *Carian*, who was at best but the Vassal of a barbarous Prince. Nor did this satisfy his Resentment, for he wrote to the *Corinthians*, to send *Thesalus* to him in Chains, and banish'd *Harpalus*, *Nearchus*, *Phrygius*, and *Ptolomy*, his Sons Confidants and Favourites, whom *Alexander* afterwards recall'd, and rais'd to great Honour and Preferment.

*Philip murder'd by Pausanias.*

Not long after this, a Youth nam'd *Pausanias*, being forcibly abused, not without the knowledge and consent of *Atalus* and *Cleopatra*: when he found he could get no Reparation for his Disgrace at *Philip's* hands, watch'd his opportunity, and murder'd him. The guilt of which Fact fell partly upon *Olympias*, who is said to have encourag'd and exasperated the enrag'd Youth to Revenge; and partly upon *Alexander* himself, who when

*Pau-*

*Pausanias* came, and complain'd to him of the Injury he had receiv'd, repeated these Verses to him out of *Euripides* his *Medea*, where in her Fury she says——

*She'l see that her Revenge be satisfied (Bride.  
On Husband, Wife, and him who gave the*

However he took care to find out, and punish the Accomplices of the Conspiracy severely, and was very angry with *Olympias*, for treating *Cleopatra* too inhumanely in his absence.

*Alexander* was but 20 years old when his Father was murder'd, and not without great Envy succeeded to a Crown beset on all sides with many Dangers, and powerful Enemies. For not only the barbarous Nations that border'd on *Macedonia*, were impatient of being govern'd by any but their own native Princes; but *Philip* likewise, though he had been victorious over the *Grecians*, yet for want of time to finish his Conquests, and settle his Affairs, had left all things in great Hurry and Confusion. Wherefore some would have perswaded *Alexander*, to have given over all thoughts of containing the *Grecians* in their Duty by force of Arms, and rather to apply himself to reduce the neighbouring Nations by gentle means, and prevent

*The beginning of Alexander's Reign attended with great Difficulties.*

He overthrows  
the Triballians.

Innovations in their very beginning. But he rejected this Counsel as weak and timorous, and look'd upon it to be more Prudence to secure himself by Resolution and Magnanimity, than by seeming to truckle to any, hazard the bringing all his Enemies upon him at once. In pursuit of this opinion, he kept the *Barbarians* quiet, by making a sudden Incurſion into their Countrey, as far as the River *Iſter*, where he gave *Syrmus*, King of the *Triballians*, a conſiderable Overthrow. And hearing the *Thebans* were ready to revolt, and that the *Athenians* held Correſpondence with them, becauſe *Demosthenes* in diſparagement of him, had call'd him a Child while he was in *Illyria*, and the Countrey of the *Triballians*, allowing him to be no more than a Youth, while he was in *Theſſaly*: to ſhew how much he was improv'd, he immediately led his Army through the Straits of *Thermopylae*, and ſaid, they ſhould find him a Man to ſome purpoſe before the Walls of *Athens*.

When he came to *Thebes*, to ſhew how willing he was to accept of their Repentance for what was paſt, he only demand'd of them *Phœnix* and *Prothytes*, the Authors of the Rebellion, and proclaim'd a general Pardon to thoſe who would come over to him. But when the *The-*  
*bans*

*bans* on the other ſide, not only requir'd *Philotas* and *Antipater* to be deliver'd into their hands, but alſo publickly invited all who would aſſert the Liberty of *Greece*, into an Association with them, he preſently applied himſelf to make them feel the laſt Extremities of War. The *Thebans* indeed defended themſelves with Alacrity and Courage far beyond their ſtrength, being much out-number'd by their Enemies. But when the *Macedonian* Garriſon ſallied out upon them from the Citadel, they were ſo hemm'd in on all ſides, that many of them fell in the Battel. The City it ſelf being taken by Storm, was ſack'd and raſ'd, on purpoſe that ſo ſevere an Example might terrifie the reſt of *Greece* into obedience. However, to colour his Vengeance, he gave out he was forc'd to be ſo extreemly rigorous, by the preſſing Complaints and Accuſations of his Confederates the *Phocians* and *Platæans*. So that except the Priests, and ſome few who had heretofore entertain'd the *Macedonians* kindly at their Houſes, the Family of the Poet *Pindar*, and thoſe who were known to have oppos'd the Rebellion, all the reſt, to the number of 30000, were publickly ſold for Slaves; and it is computed, that upwards of 6000 were put to the Sword. Among the other Ca-

*Takes Thebes,  
and raſes it.*

*The Family of  
the Poet Pindar  
ſpar'd.*

The Story of  
Timoclea.

lamities that beset this miserable City, it happen'd that some *Thracian* Souldiers having plundred and demolish'd the House of an Illustrious Matron named *Timoclea*, their Captain, after he had layn with her by force, to satisfy his Avarice as well as Lust, ask'd her, If she knew of any Money conceal'd; to which she readily answer'd, She did, and bid him follow her into a Garden, where she shew'd him a Well, into which, she told him, upon the taking of the City, she had thrown what she had of most value. The greedy *Thracian* presently stooping down to view the place where he thought the Treasure lay, she came behind him, and push'd him into the Well, and then flung great Stones in upon him, till she had kill'd him. After which, when the Souldiers led her away bound to *Alexander*, her very Meen and Gate shew'd her to be a Woman of Quality, and of a Mind no less elevated, not betraying the least sign of Fear or Astonishment. And when the King ask'd her, Who she was? *I am*, said she, *the Sister of Theagenes, who fought the Battel of Chæronea with your Father Philip, and fell there for the Liberty of Greece.* *Alexander* was so surpriz'd, both at what she had done, and what she said, that he could not chuse but give her and her

her Children their Freedom to go whither they pleased.

After this he receiv'd the *Athenians* into Favour, although they had shew'd themselves so much concern'd at the Calamity of *Thebes*, that they omitted the Celebration of their Festivals, and entertain'd those who escap'd, with all possible Humanity. Whether in this he follow'd the Nature of Lions, his Rage being already satisfied, or that after an Example of horrid Cruelty, he had a mind to appear merciful, it happen'd well for the *Athenians*: for he not only forgave them all past Offences, but commanded them to look to their Affairs with Caution and Vigilance, upon this Consideration, that if he should miscarry in his Expedition, they were like to be the Arbiters of *Greece*. Certain it is, that he often repented of his Severity to the *Thebans*, and his Remorse had such influence on his Temper, as to make him ever after less rigorous to all others. He imputed also the Murther of *Clitus*, which he committed in his Wine, and the base unwillingness of the *Macedonians* to follow him against the *Indians*, (by which his Enterprize and Glory was left imperfect) to the Wrath and Vengeance of *Bacchus*, the Protector of *Thebes*. And it was observ'd,

He pardons the  
Athenians.

serv'd, that whatsoever any *Theban*, who had the good fortune to survive this Victory, ask'd of him, he was sure to grant, without the least difficulty.

Is chosen General of the Grecians.

Soon after the *Grecians* being assembled in the Strait of *Peloponnesus*, declar'd their Resolution of joyning with *Alexander* in the War against the *Persians*, and made choice of him for their General. While he staid here, many publick Ministers and Philosophers came from all Parts to visit him, and congratulate his Election: but contrary to his Expectation, *Diogenes* of *Synope*, who then dwelt at *Corinth*, thought so little of him, that instead of coming to complement him, he never so much as stirr'd out of the *Cranium* or Suburbs, where *Alexander* found him lying along in the Sun. When he saw so much Company near him, he rais'd himself a little, and vouchsaf'd to look upon *Alexander*, and when he kindly ask'd him, Whether he wanted any thing? Yes, said he, *I would have you stand from between me and the Sun.* *Alexander* was so affected at this Answer, and surpriz'd at the Greatness of the man's Soul, who had taken so little notice of him, that as he went away, he to'd his Followers, who were laughing at the Moroseness of the Philosopher, That if he were not *Alexander*, he would

The Behaviour of Diogenes the Cynick towards him.

rather chuse to be *Diogenes* than any other Man.

Then he went to *Delphos*, to consult *Apollo* concerning the Success of the War he had undertaken, and happening to come at a time that was esteem'd unlucky, and improper to give any Answers from the Oracle, he sent Messengers to desire the Priestess to do her Office; but she refusing, under pretence of a Law to the contrary, he went up himself, and drew her by force into the Temple, where tir'd and overcome with Struggling, *My Son*, said she, *thou art Invincible.* *Alexander* taking hold of what she spoke, declar'd he had receiv'd such an Answer as he wish'd for, and that it was needless to consult the God any further. Among other Prodigies that preceded the March of his Army, the Image of *Orpheus* at *Libethra*, made of Cypress-wood, was seen to sweat in great abundance, to the discouragement of many. But *Aristander* told him, That far from presaging any Ill to him, it signifi'd, he should perform things so important and glorious, as would make the Poets and Musicians of future Ages labour and sweat to describe and celebrate them.

His Army, by their Computation who reckon moderately, consisted of 30000 Foot, Alexander's Army and Preparations.

Foot, and 5000 Horse, and those who make the most of it, speak but of 34000 Foot, and 4000 Horse. *Aristobulus* says, he had not a Fund of above 70 Talents for their Pay, nor more than 30 days Provision, if we may believe *Duris*; and *Oncocritus* tells us, he was 200 Talents in Debt. However narrow and disproportionate the beginnings of so vast an Undertaking might seem to be, yet he would not embark his Army, till he had inform'd himself particularly, what Estates his Friends had to enable them to follow him, and supplied what they wanted, by giving good Farms to some, a Village to one, and the Revenue of some Borough or Port town to another. So that at last he had wasted or engag'd almost all the Crown-lands, which giving *Perdiceas* an occasion to ask him, *What he would leave himself?* he replied, *Nothing but the Hopes of his future Conquests.* You will not then, said *Perdiceas*, take it ill, if we share with you in those Hopes only, and refused to accept of the Estate he had assign'd him. Some others of his Friends did the like, but to those who willingly receiv'd, or desir'd assistance of him, he liberally granted it, as far as his Patrimony in *Macedonia* would reach, which was all spent in these Donations.

*His Liberality.*

With

With such vigorous Resolutions, and his Mind thus dispos'd, he pass'd the *Hellepont*, and at *Troy* sacrific'd to *Minerva*, and honour'd the Memory of the Heroes who were buried there, with solemn Funeral Libations: especially *Achilles*, whose Grave-stone he anointed, and with his Friends, as the ancient Custom was, ran naked about his Sepulchre, and crown'd it with Garlands, withal declaring, how happy he esteem'd him, in having while he liv'd, so faithful a Friend as *Patroclus*, and when he was dead, so famous a Poet as *Homer* to immortalize his Actions. While he was viewing the rest of the Antiquities and Curiosities of the Place, being told, he might see *Paris* his Harp, if he pleas'd, he said, He thought it not worth looking on, but he should be glad to see that of *Achilles*, with which he had celebrated the Glory and renown'd Actions of so many brave Men.

*He passes the Hellepont, and visits Achilles his Tomb.*

In the mean time *Darius* his Captains having martial'd great Forces, were incamp'd on the further Bank of the River *Granicus*, which was look'd on as so considerable a Pass into *Asia*, that there was an absolute necessity of fighting to win it. The depth of the River, with the unevenness and difficult ascent of the opposite Shore, which was to be gain'd by main force,

*The Battel of Granicus.*

force, was apprehended by some; and others were so superstitious, as to think it an improper time to engage, because it was unusual for the Kings of *Macedonia* to march with their Forces in the Month of *June*. But *Alexander* broke through these Scruples, telling them, they should call it a second *May*. And when *Parmenio* advis'd him not to attempt any thing that day, because it was late, he told him, The *river* which he had pass'd would bluth for him, if he should be baffled at the passage of an inconsiderable River. And so without more saying, he immediately took the River with 13 Troops of Horse, and advanc'd against whole Showers of Darts thrown from the other side, which was cover'd with multitudes of the Enemy, notwithstanding the disadvantage of the Ground, and the rapidity of the Stream; so that this Action seem'd to have more of Rage and Madness in it, than of prudent Conduct. However he persisted obstinately to gain the Foord, and at last with much ado climbing up the Banks, which were very slippery by reason of the Mud, he was fain to mingle among the thickest of the Enemy, and fight Hand to Hand for a while, before he could bring his Men, who were endeavouring still to pass, into any Order. They press'd upon him

Alexander  
passes the Gra-  
nicus in de-  
spite of the E-  
nemy.

him with loud and warlike Outcries, and charging him closely with their Horse, after they had broken and spent their Javelins, they fell to it with their Swords. And *Alexander* being remarkable for his Buckler, and a large Plume of excellent white Feathers on his Helmet, was attack'd on all sides, yet escap'd wounding, though his Cuirass was pierc'd by a Javelin in a faulty place. And *Rhesaces*, and *Spithridates*, two *Persian* Commanders, falling upon him at once, he avoided one of them, and struck at *Rhesaces*, who had a good Cuirass on, with such force, that his Javelin breaking in his Hand, he was glad to betake himself to his Sword. While they were thus engag'd, *Spithridates* came up on one side of him, and raising himself upon his Horse, gave him such a Blow with his Battel-ax on the Helmet, that he cut off the Crest of it, with one side of his Plume, and made such a Gash, that the edge of his Weapon touch'd the very Hair of his Head. But as he was about to repeat his Stroke, Great *Clitus* prevented him, by running him through the Body with his Spear. At the same time *Alexander* dispatch'd *Rhesaces* with his Sword. While the Horse were thus dangerously engag'd, the *Macedonian* Phalanx pass'd the River, and the

His dangerous  
Encounter.

And Preserva-  
tion by Clitus.



the Foot on each side advanc'd to fight. But the Enemy hardly sustaining the first onset, soon gave ground and fled, all but the mercenary Grecians, who making a stand upon a rising ground, desired quarter, which *Alexander* guided rather by Passion than Judgment, refused to grant, and charging them himself first, had his Horse (not *Bucephalus* but another) kill'd under him. And this obstinacy of his to cut off these experienc'd desperate men, cost him the lives of more of his own Soldiers, than all the Battel before, besides those who were wounded. The *Persians* lost in this Battel twenty thousand Foot, and two thousand five hundred Horse: On *Alexander's* side, *Aristobulus* says there were not wanting above four and thirty, of which nine were Foot, to whose memory he caused so many Statues of Brasses of *Lysippus* his hand to be erected: And that the *Grecians* might participate the fruits of his Victory, he shar'd the Booty among them. Particularly to the *Athenians* he sent three hundred Bucklers, and upon all the rest of the Spoils he ordered this glorious Inscription to be set: *Alexander the Son of Philip, and all the Grecians, except the Lacedemonians, won these from the Barbarians who inhabit Asia. All the Plate and Purple Garments, and what-*  
ever

ever else of any value he took from the *Persians*, except a very small quantity reserv'd for himself, he sent as a Present to his Mother.

This Battel presently made a great change of Affairs to *Alexander's* advantage: For *Sardis* it self, the chief Seat of *Sardis taken.* the *Barbarians* power in the Maritime Provinces, and many other considerable places were surrendred to him; only *Halicarnassus* and *Miletus* stood out, which he soon took in by force, together with the Territory about them. After which he was a little unsettled in his opinion how to proceed: Sometimes he thought it best to find out *Darius* as soon as he could, and put all to the hazard of a Battel; another while he looked upon it as a more prudent course, to make an entire conquest of the Sea-coast, and not to seek the Enemy till he was strengthened, by the addition of the Wealth and Forces of those Provinces. While he was thus deliberating what to do, it hapned that a Fountain near the City of *Xanthus* in *Lycia*, of its own accord swell'd over its Banks, and threw up a Copper Plate upon the shore, in which was engraven in ancient Characters, *That the time would sic.* come, when the Persian Empire should be destroyed by the *Grecians*. Encouraged by this

*Being irresolute,  
is encourag'd by  
an old prophecy.*

this Accident, he proceeded to reduce the Maritime Parts of *Cilicia*, and *Phœnicia*, and pass'd his Army along the Sea-coasts of *Pamphilia* with such expedition, that many Historians have describ'd, and extoll'd it with that height of admiration, as if it were no less than a miracle, and an extraordinary effect of Divine Favour, that the Waves which were wont to come rowling in from the Main, and hardly ever leave so much as the Beach under the steep, broken Cliffs at any time uncover'd, should on a sudden retire to afford him passage. *Menander*, in one of his Comedies, alludes to this wonderful Event, when he says,

*How this resembles Alexander's high (here. Exploits ? This Fellow of his own accord in Ask him to wade the Sea, and he'll reply, Ev'n that to him does passable appear.*

*Alexander* himself in his Epistles, mentions nothing unusual in this at all, but says he went from *Phaselis*, and marched through the Straits which they call the *Ladders*. At *Phaselis* he staid some time, and finding the Statue of *Theodectes* who was then dead, erected in the Market place, after he had supp'd, having drank pretty plentifully, he went and danc'd about

bout it, and Crown'd it with Garlands as it were in sport, honouring the memory of his Friend, whose conversation he had formerly enjoyed, when he was *Aristotle's* Scholar.

Then he subdued the *Pisidians* who <sup>Pisidia and Phrygia subdued.</sup> made head against him, and conquered the *Phrygians*, at whose chief City *Gordium* (which is said to be the Seat of Old King *Midas*) he saw the famous Chariot fastned with Cords made of the rind of the *Cornel Tree*, which whosoever <sup>Keyveit's</sup> should untie, the Inhabitants had a constant Tradition, that for him was reserv'd the Empire of the World. Most are of opinion, that *Alexander* finding himself unable to untie the knot, because the ends of it were secretly folded up within it, cut it asunder with his Sword: But *Aristobolus* <sup>Cuts the Gordian Knot.</sup> tells us it was easie for him to undo it, by only pulling the Pin out of the Beam which fastned the yোক to it, and afterwards drawing out the yोक it self. From hence he advanced into *Paphlagonia* and *Cappadocia*, both which Countries he soon reduc'd to his obedience, and then hearing of the death of *Memnon*, one of *Darius*'s his best Sea Commanders, who, if he had lived, might have put a great stop to the progress of his Arms, he was the rather induc'd to carry the War into the upper Provinces of *Asia*. V Dā-

Darius marches  
towards him.

*Darius* was by this time upon his march from *Susa*, very confident, not only in the number of his Men, which amounted to six hundred thousand, but likewise in a dream which the Magicians interpreted rather in flattery to him, than with any probability of truth. He dream'd that he saw the *Macedonian Phalanx* all on fire, and *Alexander* waiting on him clad in the same Robe which he used to wear when he was *Asgandes* to the late King; after which going into the Temple of *Belus*, he vanish'd out of his sight. By this dream it was manifest in my opinion, that the Gods design'd to shew him the illustrious Actions the *Macedonians* were to perform, that as he from an *Asgandes* had arriv'd at the Crown, so *Alexander* should come to be Master of *Asia*, and not long surviving his Conquests, conclude his Life with great Glory and Reputation. *Darius* his confidence increas'd the more, because *Alexander* spent so much time in *Cilicia*, which he imputed to his cowardice: But it was sickness that detain'd him there, which some say he contracted by taking too much pains, others by Bathing in the River *Cydanus*, whose waters were exceeding cold. However it hapned, none of his Physicians would venture to give him any Remedies, they thought his case so desperate,

A Messenger.

Darius his  
Dream interpreted.

Alexander  
falls sick.

desperate, and were so afraid of the censure and ill will of the *Macedonians*, if they should fail in the Cure; till *Philip* the *Arcadian* considering his extreme danger, and confiding in his friendship, resolved to try the utmost efforts of his Art, and rather hazard his own Credit and Life, than suffer him to perish for want of Physick, which he confidently administred to him, encouraging him to take it boldly, if he desired a speedy recovery, in order to prosecute the War. At this very time *Parmenio* wrote to *Alexander* from the Camp, bidding him have a care of *Philip*, as one who was brib'd by *Darius* to kill him, with great sums of money, and a promise of his Daughter in Marriage. When he had perus'd the Letter, he put it under his Pillow, without shewing it so much as to any of his most intimate Friends, and when *Philip* came in with the Potion, he took it with great cheerfulness and assurance, withal giving him the Letter to read. This was an encounter well worth being present at, to see *Alexander* take the draught, and *Philip* read the Letter at the same time, looking earnestly upon one another, but with different sentiments; for *Alexander*'s looks were cheerful and open, a demonstration of his kindness to, and confidence in his Physician, while

His confidence  
in his Physician  
Philip.

the others were full of surprise at the accusation, appealing to the Gods to witness his Innocence, sometimes lifting up his hands to heaven, and then throwing himself down by the Bed side, and beseeching *Alexander* to lay aside all fear, and rely on his fidelity. The Medicine at first wrought so strongly with him, that it overcame his Spirits, and brought him so low that he lost his speech, and falling into a swoon, had scarce any sense or pulse left; but soon after, by *Philip's* means, his health and strength returned, and he shewed himself in publick to the *Macedonians*, who were in continual fear and dejection till they saw him abroad again.

By whom he is cur'd.

*Darius* rejects good Counsel.

There was at this time in *Darius* his Army a *Macedonian* Fugitive, named *Amyntas*, one who was pretty well acquainted with *Alexander's* designs. This man when he saw *Darius* intended to fall upon the Enemy in the Straits of an inclosed Country, advanced him rather to keep where he was, it being the advantage of a numerous Army to have Field room enough, when it engages with a lesser Force. *Darius* instead of taking his counsel, told him he was afraid the Enemy would endeavour to run away, and so *Alexander* would escape out of his hands.

That

That *Fear*, replied *Amyntas*, is needless, for assure your self that far from avoiding you, he will make all the speed he can to meet you, and is now questionless on his March towards you. But *Amyntas* his counsel was to no purpose, for *Darius* immediately de-camping, marched into *Cilicia*, at the same time that *Alexander* advanced into *Syria* to meet him, but missing one another in the Night, they both came back again. *Alexander* mightily pleased with the Accident, made all the hast he could to fight in the Straits, and *Darius* to recover his former ground, and draw his Army out of so disadvantageous a place. For now he began to perceive his error in engaging too far into a Country, which by reason of the Sea, the Mountains, and the River *Pindarus* running through the midst of it, would necessitate him to divide his Forces, render his Horse almost unserviceable, and only cover and supply the weakness of the Enemy. Fortune was not kinder to *Alexander* in the situation of the place, than he was careful to improve it to his advantage: For being much inferior in numbers, to prevent being inclosed, he stretched his Right Wing much further out than his Left, and Fighting there himself in the very foremost Ranks, put the *Barbarians* to flight. In this Bat-

The Battel of Issus.

tel he was wounded in the Thigh by *Darius* (as *Chares* says) with whom he fought hand to hand. But in the account which he gave *Antipater* of the Battel, though indeed he owns he was run through the Thigh with a Sword, though not dangerously, yet he takes no notice who it was that wounded him.

*Darius escapes.*

Nothing was wanting to complete this glorious Victory, which he gain'd at the expence of above an hundred and ten thousand of his Enemies lives, but the taking the Person of *Darius*, who escaped very narrowly by flight. However having taken his Chariot, and his Bow, he returned from pursuing him, and found his own Men busie in pillaging the *Barbarians* Camp, which, though to disburthen themselves, they had left most of their Baggage at *Damascus*, was exceeding rich. But *Darius* his Tent, in which were abundance of Officers, a great deal of noble Furniture, and vast quantities of Gold and Silver, they reserv'd for *Alexander* himself, who after he had put off his Arms, as he was going to Bathe himself, *Let us now*, said he, *cleanse and refresh our selves after the toils of War, in Darius his own Bath.* Not so, replied one of his followers, *but in Alexander's rather, for the Goods of the Vanquish'd are, and always ought*

*to be reputed the Conquerors.* Here, when he beheld the Bathing Vessels, the Water Pots, Vials, and Oyntment Boxes all of Gold, curiously wrought, and smelt the fragrant odours with which the whole place was exquisitely perfumed, and from thence passed into another Apartment, large and well pitched, where the Bed, the Table, and the Entertainment were perfectly magnificent, he turned to those about him, and in a kind of transport told them, *This is to be a King indeed.* But as he was going to Supper, word was brought him that *Darius* his Mother, and Wife, and two unmarried Daughters, being taken among the rest of the Prisoners, upon the sight of his Chariot and Bow, were all in tears and sorrow, imagining him to be dead. After a little pause, more touch'd with their affliction than with his own success, he sent *Leonatus* to them, to let them know *Darius* was not dead, and that they need not apprehend any ill usage from *Alexander*, who made War upon him only for Dominion; and that they should find themselves as well provided for, as ever they were in *Darius* his most flourishing condition, when his Empire was entire. This kind message could not but be very welcom to the Captive Ladies, especially being made good by Actions

*Alexander taken with the Persian Luxury and Riches.*

no less humane and generous : For he gave them leave to bury whom they pleased of the *Persians*, and to make use of what garments and furniture they thought fit out of the Booty. He diminished nothing of their Equipage, or of the respect formerly paid them, and allowed larger Pensions for their maintenance, than ever they had before. But the bravest and most Royal part of their usage, was, that he treated these Illustrious Prisoners according to their Vertue and their Quality, not suffering them to hear, or receive, or so much as to apprehend any thing that was indecent, or to the prejudice of their Honour. So that they seem'd rather lodg'd in some Temple, or holy Virgin Cloyster, where they enjoyed their Privacy sacred and uninterrupted ; than in the Camp of an Enemy. Not that he wanted temptation, for *Darius* his Wife was accounted the beautifullest Princess then living, as her Husband the handsomest and properest man of his time, and the Daughters were no less charming than their Parents : But *Alexander* esteeming it more glorious to govern himself than to conquer his Enemies, touch'd none of them, nor any other Woman before Marriage, except *Barsina*, *Mazanes*'s Widow, who was taken Prisoner at *Damascus*. She was very knowing

His generous usage of *Darius* his Wife and Daughters.

His continence.

knowing in the *Grecian* Learning, of a sweet temper, and by her Father *Artabazus*, Royally descended. Which good qualities added to the solicitations, and encouragement of *Parmenio* (as *Aristobulus* tells us) made him the more willing to enjoy so agreeable and illustrious a Woman. Of the rest of the *Persian* Captives, tho' handsom and well proportion'd enough, he took no farther notice than to say merrily that they were great eye-sores. His Temperance and Chastity so much surmounted the effects of their Charms, that they mov'd him no more than so many liveless Statues. And when *Philoxenus*, his Lieutenant on the Sea-coast, wrote to him to know if he would buy two very fine Boys, which one *Theodorus* a *Tarentine* had to sell : He was so offended, that he often expostulated with his Friends, what baseness *Philoxenus* had ever observ'd in him, that he should presume to make him such a reproachful offer ? And immediately wrote him a very sharp Letter, commanding him to dismiss *Theodorus*, and his vile merchandise with disgrace. Nor was he less severe to *Agnon*, who sent him word he would buy a pretty *Corinthian* Youth nam'd *Cröbylus*, to present him with. And hearing that *Damon* and *Timotheus*, two of *Parmenio*'s Soldiers, had

He is angry with those who would have corrupted him.

had abus'd the Wives of some Strangers who were in his Pay, he wrote to *Parnio*, charging him strictly, if he found them guilty, to put them to Death, as Beasts that were good for nothing but to corrupt and ruine mankind. In the same Letter he added, that he had not so much as seen, or desir'd to see the Wife of *Darius*, no, nor suffer'd any body to speak of her Beauty before him. He was wont to say, that Sleep, and the Act of Generation, chiefly made him sensible that he was mortal, withal affirming, that Pain and Pleasure proceeded both from the same Frailty and Imbecillity of humane Nature.

*His Temperance*

In his Diet he was most temperate, as appears, omitting many other Circumstances, by what he said to *Ada*, whom he adopted to be his Mother, and afterwards created Queen of *Caria*. For when she out of Kindness sent him every day many curious Dishes, and Sweet-meats, and would have furnish'd him with such Cooks and Pastry-men as were excellent in their kind: he told her, He wanted none of them, his Præceptor *Leonidas* having already given him the best, which were Night-marches to prepare him for his Dinner, and moderate Dinners to create an Appetite for Supper. And that he

us'd

us'd to open and search the Furniture of his Chamber, and his Wardrobe, to see if his Mother had left him any thing that was nice or superfluous. He was much less addic'ted to Wine than was generally believ'd; that which gave People occasion to think so of him, was, that when he had nothing else to do, he lov'd to sit long, and discourse, rather than drink, and tell long Stories between every Glas. For when his Affairs call'd upon him, he would not be detain'd as other Generals often were, either by Wine, or Sleep, Nuptial Solemnities, Spectacles, or any other Diversion whatsoever: a convincing Argument of which is, that in the short time he liv'd, he accomplish'd so many and so great Actions. When he was free from Employment, after he was up, and had sacrific'd to the Gods, he us'd to sit down to Dinner, and then spend the rest of the day either in Hunting, or writing Memoirs, or composing Differences among his Souldiers, or Reading. In Marches that requir'd no great haste, he would practise Shooting as he went along, or to mount a Chariot, and alight from it in full speed. Sometimes for Sports sake, his Journals tell us, he would go a Fox-hunting, and Fowling, and when he came home, after he had bath'd, and was appointed.

*And manner of  
Life describ'd.*

nointed, he would call for his Bakers, and chief Cooks, to know if they had got his Supper ready in good order. He never car'd to sup till it was pretty late, and was wonderful circumspect at Meals, that every one who sat with him should be serv'd alike. His talkative Humour, as I noted before, made him delight to sit long at Table, and then, though otherwise no Princes Conversation was ever so agreeable, he would fall into such a vein of Ostentation, and Souldierly Bragging, as gave his Flatterers a great advantage to ride him, and made his best Friends and Servants very uneasy. For though they thought it too base to strive who should flatter him most, yet they found it hazardous not to do it; so that between the Shame and the Danger, they were in a great strait how to behave themselves. After such an Entertainment, he was wont to bathe, and then perhaps he would sleep till Noon, and sometimes all day long. He was so very temperate in his Diet, that when any excellent Fish or Fruits were sent him, he would distribute them among his Friends, and hardly reserve any for his own eating. His Table however was always magnificent, the Expence of it still increasing with his good Fortune, till it amounted to 10000 Drach-

He is given to  
Bragging,

and subject to  
Flattery.

Drachmas a day, to which Sum he limited it, and beyond this he would suffer none to lay out in an Entertainment, though he himself were the Guest. The Expence of  
his Table.

After the Battel of Issus, he sent to *Damascus* to seize upon the Money and Baggage, the Wives and Children of the *Persians*, of which the *Thessalian* Horsemen had the greatest share; for he had taken particular notice of their Gallantry in the Fight, and sent them thither on purpose to make their Reward suitable to their Courage: not but that the rest of the Army had so considerable part of the Booty, as was sufficient to make the Fortune of every private Souldier. This first gave the *Macedonians* such a taste of the *Persian* Wealth, Women, and manner of Living, that they pursued and trac'd it with the same eagerness and ardour, that Hounds do when they are upon a Scent. *Alexander* before he proceeded any farther, Cyprus and  
Phoenicia  
yielded to him. thought it necessary to assure himself of the Sea-coast. Those who govern'd in *Cyprus*, put that Island into his possession, and all *Phœnicia* except *Tyre* was surrendered to him without a Stroke. He besieges  
Tyre. During the Siege of this City, which with Mounts of Earth cast up, and battering Engines, and 200 Galleys by Sea, was carried on with all imaginable Vigour for 7 months to-



together, he chanc'd to dream, that he saw *Hercules* upon the Walls, reaching out his Hand, and calling to him. And many of the *Tyrians* in their Sleep, fancied that *Apollo* told them, he was displeas'd with their Actions, and was about to leave them, and go over to *Alexander*. Upon which, as if the God were a Fugitive, they took him in the Fact, chaining his Statue, and nailing it to the Pedestal, withal reproaching him, that he was an *Alexandrist*, or a Favourer of *Alexander's* Party. Another time *Alexander* dream'd, he saw a Satyr mocking him at a distance, and when he endeavour'd to catch him, he still escap'd from him, till at last with much perseverance, and running about after him, he got him into his Power.

Ξλ—τς⊙,  
which signifies,  
Tyre is thine.

The Soothsayers making two words of *Satyros*, assur'd him, that in all probability *Tyre* was as good as his own. The Inhabitants at this time shew the Fountain near which *Alexander* slept, when he fancied the Satyr appear'd to him.

While the Body of the Army lay before *Tyre*, he made a short Excursion against the *Arabians*, who inhabit Mount *Antilibanus*, in which he hazarded his Life extremely, to bring off his Master *Lysimachus*, who would needs go along with him, bragging he was neither older, nor in

inferior in Courage, to *Phœnix Achilles*, his Tutor, whose Name he affected to bear. For when quitting their Horses, they march'd up the Hill on foot, the rest of the Souldiers out-went them a great deal, so that Night drawing on, and the Enemy near, *Alexander* was fain to stay behind so long, to encourage and help up the lagging, tir'd, old Man, that before he was aware, he was gotten a great way from his Army with a slender Attendance, and forc'd to pass an extream cold Night in the dark, and in a very ill place. Till seeing a great many scatter'd Fires of the Enemy at some distance, and trusting to his Agility of Body, and constant Indefatigableness, with which he was wont to relieve and support the *Macedonians* in their Distress, he ran strait to one of the nearest Fires, and with his Dagger dispatching two of the *Barbarians* that sat by it, snatch'd up a lighted Brand, and return'd with it to his own Men, who immediately made a great Fire, which so terrified the Enemy, that most of them fled, and those that assaulted them were soon routed, by which means they lodg'd securely the rest of the Night. Thus *Charles* gives an account of this Action.

His care of his  
old Master,

and personal  
valour, in ex-  
tremity of dan-  
ger.

But

But to return to the Siege, it had this Issue : *Alexander* that he might refresh his Army, harass'd with many former Encounters, drew out a small Party, rather to keep the Enemy upon Duty, than with any prospect of much Advantage. It happen'd at this time, that *Aristander*, after he had sacrific'd, upon view of the Intrails, affirm'd confidently to those who stood by, that the City should be certainly taken that very month, which made them laugh at, and mock him exceedingly, because that was the last day of it. But the King taking notice of his Perplexity, and emulous Zeal, ever ambitious to have his Predictions take place, commanded they should not account that the 30. but the 3d. day of the expiring month, and ordering the Trumpets to sound, attack'd the Walls with more Fury than he at first intended. The briskness of the Assault so inflam'd the rest of his Forces who were left in the Camp, that they could not hold from advancing to second it, which they perform'd with so much Vigour, that the *Tyrians* retir'd, and the Town was carried that very day. The next Place he sat down before was *Gaza*, the Metropolis of *Syria*, where this Accident beset him. A great Fowl flying over him, let a Clod of Earth fall upon his

Shoulder.

Shoulder, and then settling upon one of the battering Engines, was suddenly entangled and caught in the Nets composed of sinews, which protected the Ropes with which the Machine was manag'd. This fell out exactly according to *Aristander's* prediction, which was, that *Alexander* should be wounded, and the City reduc'd.

Where he is  
wounded by a  
strange acci-  
dent.

From hence he sent great part of the spoils to *Olympias*, *Cleopatra*, and the rest of his Friends, not omitting his *Preceptor* *Leonidas*, on whom he bestowed five hundred Talents worth of Frankincense, and an hundred of Myrrh; prompted to it by the remembrance of his forward hopes of him, when he was but a Child. For *Leonidas*, it seems, standing by him one day while he was sacrificing, and seeing him take both his hands full of Gums to throw into the fire, told him it became him to be more sparing in his Offerings then, and not be so profuse till he was Master of the Countries, where those sweet Gums and Spices were produc'd. Upon this account *Alexander* wrote him word, he had sent him a large quantity of Myrrh and Frankincense, that for the future he might not be so niggardly to the Gods. Among the Treasures and other Booty that was taken from *Darius*, there was a very curious

X

little

takes Tyre  
and Gaza.

little Box, which being presented to *Alexander* for a great rarity, he ask'd those about him what they thought fittest to be laid up in it; and when they had delivered their opinions, he told them he esteem'd nothing so worthy to be preserv'd in it as *Homer's* Iliads. This passage is attested by many credible Authors, and if what those of *Alexandria*, relying upon the credit of *Heraclides*, tell us be true; *Homer* was neither an idle, nor an unprofitable companion to him in his expedition. For when he was Master of *Egypt*, designing to settle a Colony of *Grecians* there, he resolv'd to build a large and populous City, and give it his own Name. In order to which, after he had measur'd and stak'd out the ground, with the advice of the best Workmen, he chanc'd one night in his sleep to see a wonderful Vision: A grey-headed Old Man, of a venerable Aspect, appear'd to stand by him, and pronounce these Verses.

*Girt with the surging Main, there lies an Isle,  
Not far from Ægypt, which they Pharos stile.*

*Alexander* upon this immediately rose up and went to *Pharos*, which at that time was an Island lying a little above the Canabique Mouth of the River *Nilus*, tho' it be  
now

His esteem  
Homer.

now join'd to the Continent by a straight Causeway. As soon as he saw the commodious situation of the place, it being a long neck of Land of a proportionable breadth, having a great Lake on one side, and the Sea on the other; at the end of it making a spacious harbor, he said, *Homer*, besides his other excellencies, was a very good Architect, and ordered the Plot of a City to be drawn answerable to the place. To do which, for want of Chalk, the Soil being black, they set out their Lines with Flower, taking in a pretty large compass of ground in a circular Figure; the inside of whose circumference was equally terminated by Right Lines like the edges of a Cloak. While he was pleasing himself with his design, on a sudden an infinite number of great Birds of several kinds, rising like a black Cloud out of the River, and the Lake, devoured all the Flower that was used in setting out the Lines; at which Omen *Alexander* was much troubled, till the *Augur's* encouraging him again by telling him it was a sign the City he was about to build, would not only abound in all things within it self, but also be the Nurse of many Nations; he commanded the Workmen to proceed, while he went to visit the Temple of *Jupiter Hammon*.

He builds A-  
lexandria.

His Journy to  
the Temple of  
Jupiter Ham-  
mon.

This was a long, painful, and dangerous Journy in two respects : First, if their Provision of Water should fail in so wide a desert : And Secondly, if a violent South-wind should rise upon them, while they were travelling through the deep gaping Sands, as it did heretofore upon *Cambyses* his Army, blowing the Sand together in heaps, and then rowling it in waves upon his Men, till 50000 were swallowed up and destroyed by it. All these difficulties were weighed and represented to him ; but *Alexander* was not easily to be diverted from any thing he was bent upon : For Fortune having hitherto seconded him in his designs, made him resolute and firm in his Opinions, and the greatness of his Mind raised a confidence in him of surmounting almost invincible difficulties ; as if it were not enough to be always victorious in the Field, unless Places, and Seasons, and Nature her self submitted to him. In this Voyage, the Relief and Assistance the Gods afforded him in his distresses, were more wonderful and worthy of belief, than the Oracles he received afterwards, which were valued and credited the more upon this occasion : For first the plentiful Rains that fell, preserv'd them from perishing by drought, and allaying the extreme dryness

dryness of the sand, which now became moist and firm to travel on, clear'd and purified the Air. Besides this, when they were out of their way, and were wandering up and down, by reason the marks which were wont to direct the Guides were disordered and lost, they were set right again by some Ravens who flew before them in their March, and would wait for those who lagg'd or were left behind. But the greatest miracle, as *Calisthenes* tells us, was, that if any of the Company went astray in the Night, they never left crouching and making a noise, till by that means they had brought them into the right way again. Having passed through the Wilderness, they came to the City, where the High-Priest at the first salute bade *Alexander* welcom from his Father *Ammon* : And being ask'd by him whether any of his Fathers Murderers had escap'd punishment, he charg'd him to speak with more respect, for his Father was not mortal. Then *Alexander* more plainly desired to know of him, if any of those who murder'd *Philip* were yet unpunish'd, and further concerning Dominion, whether the Empire of the World was reserv'd for him ? This the God answered he should obtain, and that *Philips* death was fully reveng'd ; which gave him

*In which he is  
wonderfully  
guided and  
preserv'd.*

him so much satisfaction, that he made splendid Offerings to *Jupiter*, and gave the Priests very rich Presents. This is the substance of what Answers he receiv'd from the Oracle: Although *Alexander* in a Letter to his Mother tells her, there were some secret Predictions which, at his return, he would communicate to her only. Others say that the Priest, desirous to express himself more kindly, and to call him in the Greek Tongue *Paidion*, which signifies my Son, to avoid the barbarism as he thought of the *N*, used the *S* instead of it, and said *Paidios*, or Son of *Jupiter*, which mistake of his Speech *Alexander* was well enough pleas'd with, and it went for currant that the Oracle had call'd him so.

Is flattered by  
a Priest.

Alexander's opi-  
nion of the  
Deity.

And politique  
use of being  
thought a God.

Among the Sayings of one *Psammon* a Philosopher, whom he heard in *Aegypt*, he most approved of this, *That all Men are govern'd by God, because in every thing that which is chief and commands is Divine.* But what he pronounc'd himself upon this Subject, was more like a Philosopher: for he said, *God was the common Father of us all, but more particularly of Good Men.* To the *Barbarians* he carried himself very insolently, as if he were fully perswaded of his Divine Original; but to the *Greeks* more moderately, and with less affecta-

tion

tion of Divinity: Except it were writing to the *Athenians* concerning *Samos*, where he tells them they held not that free and glorious City by vertue of his Gift, but from the Bounty of him who at that time was call'd his Lord and Father, meaning *Philip*. However afterwards being wounded with an Arrow, and feeling much pain, he turn'd to those about him, and told them, it was common Humane Blood that fell from him, and not the *Ichor*,

*Such as th' Immortal Gods were wont to shed.*

And another time when it thundred so much that every body was afraid, and *Anaxarchus* the Sophist ask'd him, if he who was *Jupiter's* own Son were so too? *He is jeer'd by Anaxarchus.* Yes, *that I am*, answered *Alexander* laughing, *for I would not be formidable to my Friends, as you would have me be, who despis'd my Table for being furnish'd with Fish, and not with the Heads of Governors of Provinces.* For it is certain that *Anaxarchus* seeing a Present of small Fishes which the King sent to *Hephestion*, did express himself to this purpose, to shew his contempt and derision of those who take mighty pains and run desperate hazards in pursuit of great matters, and yet after all, if we examine things closely, have little more

of pleasure or injoyment than other people. From what I have said upon this Subject, it is apparent that *Alexander* in himself was not foolishly affected, or had the vanity to think himself really a God, but his Followers were captivated with an overweening opinion of his Divinity.

The expence of  
Tragedies de-  
frayed by Kings.

At his return out of *Aegypt* into *Phœnicia*, he sacrific'd and made solemn Processions, to which were added circular Dances and Acting of Tragedies, whose splendor appear'd not only in the Furniture and Ornaments, but in the noble Zeal and Contention of those who acted them. For no less Persons than two Kings of *Cyprus* were at the charge of them, in the same manner as it is perform'd at *Athens* by those who are chosen by Lot out of the Tribes. And indeed they strove with wonderful emulation to out-vie each other: Chiefly *Nicocreon* King of *Salamis*, and *Pasicrates* of *Soli*, who were appointed to furnish and defray the expence of *Athenodorus* and *Thessalus*, two of the most celebrated Actors of that Age. *Thessalus* was most favour'd by *Alexander*, though it appear'd not till *Athenodorus* was declar'd Victor by the plurality of Suffrages. For then at his going away, he said the Judges deserv'd to be commended for what they had done, but that he would willingly

willingly have lost part of his Kingdom, rather than to have seen *Thessalus* overcome. However, when he understood *Athenodorus* was Fin'd by the *Athenians*, for being absent at the Festivals celebrated in Honour of *Bacchus*, tho' he refus'd his request of Writing in his behalf; yet he was so generous as to give him wherewithal to satisfy the penalty. Another time *Lycon* of *Scarphia* hapned to Act with great Applause in the Theatre, and in a Verse inserted in his part, cunningly begg'd ten Talents of *Alexander*; who was so pleas'd with his Ingenuity, that he freely gave him the Mony.

About this time *Darius* wrote to him, and his Friends, to intercede with him to accept 10000 Talents, as a Ransom for what Prisoners he had in his hands: And to purchase his Amity and Alliance, offer'd him all the Countries on this side the River *Euphrates*, together with one of his Daughters in Marriage. These Propositions he communicated to his Friends, and when *Parmenio* told him, that for his part, if he were *Alexander*, he should readily embrace them; So would I too you may be sure, said the King, if I were *Parmenio*. Accordingly his Answer to *Darius* was, that if he would yield himself up into his power, he would treat him with all imaginable

*Darius his proposals rejected.*

Alexander's  
generous Usage  
of Darius his  
wife.

ginable Kindness, if not, he was resolv'd immediately to advance towards him. But the Death of *Darius* his Wife in Child-birth, made him soon after repent of this Resolution, not without evident marks of Grief, for being so depriv'd of a further opportunity of exercising his Clemency and good Nature, which he shew'd to the last, by the great Expence he was at in her Funeral.

Among the Eunuchs who waited in the Queens Chamber, and were taken Prisoners with the Women, there was one *Tyreus*, who getting out of the Camp, fled away on Horseback to *Darius*, to inform him of his Wives Death; which as soon as he heard, he could not forbear beating his Head, and bursting forth into Tears with lamentable Outcries, said, *Alas ! how great is the Calamity of the Persians ? Was it not enough that their King's Consort and Sister was a Prisoner in her Lifetime, but she must now she is dead also, be but meanly and obscurely buried ? Oh Sir, replied the Eunuch, As to her Interment, or any Respect, or Decency, that was omitted at it, you have not the least reason to accuse the ill Fortune of your Countrey ; for to my knowledge neither your Queen Statira when alive, or your Mother, or Children, wanted any thing of their former happy condition,*

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*unless it were the light of your Countenance, which I doubt not but the mighty Oromasdes will yet restore with greater Splendor and Glory than ever : and after her Decease, I assure you, she had not only all due Funeral Ornaments, but was honour'd also with the Tears of your very Enemies ; for Alexander is as merciful and gentle after Victory, as he is daring and terrible in the Field. At the hearing of these words, such was the Grief and Emotion of Darius his Mind, that although there was not the least ground for them, he could not chuse but entertain some absurd Suspicions. For taking Tyreas aside into a more private Apartment in his Tent : Unless thou likewise, said he to him, hast deserted me together with the good Fortune of Persia, and art become a Macedonian in thy heart ; if thou bearest me yet any Respect, and ownest me for thy Sovereign Darius, Tell me, I charge thee, by the Veneration thou payest the Deity of \* Mithras, and this Right \* The Sun. Hand of thy King : Do I not lament the least of Statira's Misfortunes in her Captivity and Death ? Have I not suffer'd something more injurious and deplorable in her Lifetime ? And had I not been miserable with less Dishonour, if I had met with a more severe and inhumane Enemy ? For how is it possible a young Man as he is, should treat the*

Makes him  
jealous.

But without Reason, of which he is convinc'd by Ty eus the Eunuch.

Darius his Prayer.

*the Wife of Darius with so much Generosity without passing the Bounds of a virtuous Conversation? Whilst he was yet speaking, Tyreus threw himself at his Feet, and besought him neither to wrong Alexander so much, nor his dead Wife and Sister, as to harbour such unjust thoughts, which depriv'd him of the only Consolation he was capable of in his Adversity, in a firm belief that he was overcome by a Man, whose Virtues rais'd him far above the pitch of humane Nature. That he ought to look upon Alexander with Love and Admiration, who had given no less Proofs of his Continnence towards the Persian Women, than of his Valour among the Men. The Eunuch confirm'd all he said with solemn, horrid Oaths, and was farther enlarging himself in the description of Alexander's Moderation and Magnanimity upon other occasions: when Darius not able to contain himself any longer, broke from him into the next Room, where before all his Courtiers he lifted up his Hands to Heaven, and utter'd this Prayer. Ye Gods, said he, who are the Authors of our Being, and supreme Directors of Kingdoms: above all things, I beg of you to restore the declining Affairs of Persia, that I may leave them at least in as flourishing a Condition as I found them, and have it*

*in my Power to make some grateful Returns to Alexander, for the Kindness which in my Adversity he has shew'd to those who are dearest to me. But if indeed the fatal Time be come, which is to give a Period to the Persian Monarchy; if our Ruine be a Debt that must be inevitably paid to the divine Vengeance, and the Vicissitude of Things: then I beseech you grant, that no other Man but Alexander may sit upon the Throne of Cyrus. The truth of these passages is attested by most Writers.*

But to return to Alexander, after he had reduc'd all Asia on this side the Euphrates, he advanc'd towards Darius, who was coming down against him with a million of Men. In his March a very ridiculous Passage happen'd. The Servants who follow'd the Camp, for Sports-sake divided themselves into two Parties, and nam'd the Commander of one of them Alexander, and of the other Darius. At first they only pelted one another with Clods of Earth, and after fell to Fifty-cuffs, till at last, heated with the Skirmish, they fought in good earnest with Stones and Clubs, so that they had much ado to part them, till Alexander order'd the two Captains to decide the Quarrel by single Combat, and arm'd him who bore his Name himself, while Philotas did the same

to



to him who represented *Darius*. The whole Army were Spectators of this Encounter, with Minds prepar'd from the Event of it, to make a Judgment of their own future Success. After they had fought stoutly a pretty while, at last he who was call'd *Alexander* had the better, and for a Reward of his Prowess, had 12 Villages given him, with leave to vest himself after the *Persian* Mode. Thus we are inform'd by the Writings of *Eratosthenes*.

At the Battel  
of Gaufamela.

But the great Battel of all that was fought with *Darius*, was not as most Writers tell us, at *Arbela*, but at *Gaufamela*, which in their Language signifies the *Camels House*, forasmuch as one of their ancient Kings, having escap'd the pursuit of his Enemies on a swift Camel, in gratitude to his Beast, settled him at this Place, with an allowance of certain Villages and Rents for his maintenance. It came to pass that in the month \* *Boedromion*, about the beginning of the Feast of Mysteries at *Athens*, there happen'd an Eclipse of the Moon, the 11th. night after which, the two Armies being then in view of one another, *Darius* kept his men in Arms, and by Torch light took a general Review of them. But *Alexander*, while his Souldiers slept, spent the night be-

\* August.

before his Tent with his Diviner *Aristander*, performing certain mysterious Ceremonies, and sacrificing to *Apollo*. In the mean while the eldest of his Commanders, and chiefly *Parmenio*, when they beheld all the Plain between the River *Niphates*, and the *Gordyeon* Mountains, shining with the Lights and Fires which were made by the *Barbarians*, and heard the rude and confus'd Voices out of their Camp, the terrour and noise of which resembled the roaring of a vast Ocean, they were so amaz'd at the thoughts of such a multitude, that after some Conference among themselves, they concluded it an Enterprize too difficult and hazardous for them to engage so numerous an Enemy in the Day, and therefore meeting the King as he came from sacrificing, besought him to attack *Darius* by Night, that the Darkness might conceal the horror and danger of the ensuing Battel. To this he gave them the so celebrated Answer, *That he would not steal a Victory*: which though some may think childish and vain, as if he play'd with Danger, yet others look upon it as an evidence that he confided in his present Condition, and made a true Judgement of the future, in not leaving *Darius*, in case he were worsted, so much as a pretence of trying his Fortune any more;

Some Copies  
have it *αὐθιγὰν*,  
to Fear.

Alexander  
though infi-  
nitely inferior  
in Numbers,  
refuses to steal  
a Victory.

His Reasons for  
it.

more ; which he would certainly do, if he could impute his Overthrow to the disadvantage of the Night, as he did before to the Mountains, the narrow Passages, and the Sea. For it was not to be imagin'd, that he who had still such Forces and large Dominions left, should give over the War for want of Men or Arms, till he had first lost all Courage and Hope, by the conviction of an undeniable and manifest Defeat. After they were gone from him with this Answer, he laid himself down in his Tent, and slept the rest of the Night soundlier than he was wont to do, to the astonishment of the Commanders, who came to him early in the morning, and were fain themselves to give order that the Souldiers should dine. But at last, time not giving them leave to wait any longer, *Parmenio* went to his Bed-side, and call'd him twice or thrice by his Name, till he wak'd him, and then ask'd him, *How it was possible when he was to fight the most important Battel of all, he could sleep so securely, as if he were already victorious.* So I am, said *Alexander*, smiling, *since I am now no more put to the trouble of wandering after, and pursuing Darius, as long as he pleases to decline Fighting, in a Countrey of so large extent, and so wasted.* And not only before the Engagement, but like-

like-

An Instance of  
his Conduct.

likewise in the extreamest danger of it, he shew'd the greatness of his Courage in Action, and the solidity of his Judgement in Counsel. For the left Wing which *Parmenio* commanded, was so violently charg'd by the *Bactrian* Horse, that it was disorder'd, and forc'd to give ground, at the same time that *Mazeus* had sent a Party round about to fall upon those who guarded the Baggage, which so disturb'd *Parmenio*, that he sent Messengers to acquaint *Alexander*, that the Camp and Baggage would be all lost, unless he immediately reliev'd the Rear, by a considerable Reinforcement drawn out of the Front. This Message being brought him just as he was giving the Signal to those about him for the Onset, he bade them tell *Parmenio*, *That sure he was mad, and had lost the use of his Reason, and that the Consternation he was in, had made him forget, that Conquerors always become Masters of their Enemies Baggage ; whereas those who were defeated, instead of taking care of their Wealth or their Slaves, had nothing more to do, but to fight gallantly, and die with Honour.* When he had said this, he put on his Helmet, having the rest of his Arms on before he came out of his Tent, which were a short Coat of the *Sicilian* fashion, girt close about him, and over that a Breast-

His Armour  
describ'd.

Y

Breast-

Breastpiece of Linnen often folded and pleated, which was taken among other Booty at the Battel of *Iffus*. The Helmet which was made by *Theophilus*, though of Iron, was so well wrought and polish'd, that it was as bright as the most refin'd Silver. To this was fitted a Gorget of the same metal, set with precious Stones. His Sword, which was the weapon he most us'd in Fight, was given him by the King of the *Citieans*, and was of an admirable temper and lightness. But the Belt which he wore also in all Engagements, was of much richer Workmanship than the rest of his Armour; it was made by old *Helicon*, and presented him by the *Rhodians*, as a mark of their Respect to him. When-ever he drew up his Men, or rode about to give Orders, or instruct, or view them, he favour'd *Bucephalus* by reason of his Age, and made use of another Horse; but when he was to fight, he sent for him again, and as soon as he was mounted, presently fell upon the Enemy. After he had made a long Oration to the *Thessalians*, and the rest of the *Gracians*, who encourag'd him with loud Outcries, desiring to be led on to the Charge, he shifted his Javelin into his left Hand, and with his right lifted up towards Heaven, besought the Gods, that if he was of a truth

truth

truth the Son of *Jupiter*, they would be pleas'd to assist and strengthen the *Gracians*. At the same time the Augur *Aristander*, who had a white Mantle about him, and a Crown of Gold on his Head, rode by, and shew'd them an Eagle that soar'd just over *Alexander*, and directed his flight towards the Enemy; which so animated the Beholders, that after mutual Encouragements and Exhortations, the Horse charg'd at full speed, and were vigorously seconded by the Foot. But before they could well come to Blows with the first Ranks, the *Barbarians* shrunk back, and were hotly pursued by *Alexander*, who drove those that fled before him into the middle of the Battel, where *Darius* himself was in Person, whom he saw over the foremost Ranks, conspicuous in the midst of his Life-Guard; for he was an handsom, proper Man, and drawn in a lofty Chariot, defended by abundance of the best Horse, who stood close in order about it, ready to receive the Enemy. But *Alexander's* approach was so terrible, forcing those who gave back, upon those who yet maintain'd their Ground, that he beat down and dispers'd them almost all, but a few of the bravest and valiantest, who were slain in their King's presence, falling in heaps upon one another,

*A good Omen  
before the Bat-  
tel.*

and in the very pangs of Death striving by catching hold of the Men and Horses, to stop the *Macedonians* pursuit. *Darius* now seeing all was lost, that those who were plac'd in Front to defend him were broken, and beat back upon him, that he could not turn or disengage his Chariot without great difficulty, the Wheels were so clogg'd and intangled among the dead Bodies which lay in such heaps, as not only stop't, but almost cover'd the Horses, and made them bound, and grow so unruly, that the frighted Charioteer could govern them no longer: in this extremity he was glad to quit his Chariot and his Arms, and mounting, as they say, upon a Mare that had newly foal'd, betook himself to flight. But he had not escap'd so neither, if *Parmenio* had not sent fresh Messengers to *Alexander*, to desire him to return, and assist him against a considerable Body of the Enemy which yet stood together, and would not give ground. Upon this *Parmenio* was on all hands accus'd of Dulness and Sloth, whether Age had impair'd his Courage, or that, as *Callisthenes* says, he inwardly griev'd at, and envied his Masters growing Greatness. *Alexander* though he was not a little vex'd to be so recall'd, and hindred from pursuing his Victory, yet

*Darius flies.*

con-

conceal'd the true Reason from his Men, and causing a Retreat to be sounded, as if it were too late to continue the Execution any longer, march'd back towards the place of danger, and by the way met with the News of the Enemies total overthrow and flight.

This Battel being thus over, seem'd to put a period to the *Persian* Empire; and *Alexander* who was now proclaim'd King of *Asia*, return'd thanks to the Gods in magnificent Sacrifices, and rewarded his Friends and Followers with great sums of Money, and Palaces, and Governments of Provinces. To ingratiate himself with the *Grecians*, he wrote to them, that he would have all Tyrannies abolish'd, that they might live free according to their own Laws, more particularly to the *Platians*, that their City should be reedified, because their Ancestors permitted their Countrymen to make their Territories the Seat of the War. when they fought with the *Barbarians* for their common Liberty. He sent also part of the Spoils into *Italy*, to the *Crotoliens*, to honour the Zeal and Courage of their Citizen *Phaylus* the Wrestler, who in the *Median* War, when the other *Grecian* Colonies in *Italy* disown'd *Greece*; that he might have a share in the danger, joyn'd the Fleet at *Salamis*, with

*He is proclaimed King of Asia.*

*He is proclaimed King of Asia.*

*He courts the Grecians.*

with a Vessel set forth at his own charge. So affectionate was *Alexander* to all kind of Virtue, and so desirous to preserve the memory of laudable Actions.

Takes Babylon.

From hence he march'd through the Province of *Babylon*, which immediately submitted to him, and in that of *Ecbatane* was mightily surpris'd to see Fire continually break like a Spring out of a cleft of the Earth; and not far from that a Fountain of *Naptha*, which stagnated in great abundance. This *Naptha*, in other respects resembling *Bitumen*, is so subject to take fire, that before it touches the flame, it will kindle at the very light that surrounds it, and often inflame the inter-jacent Air also. The *Barbarians*, to shew the Power and Nature of it, sprinkled the Street that led to the Kings Lodgings with little drops of this Liquor, and when it was almost night, stood at the further end with Torches, which being applied to the moistned places, the first presently taking fire, in less than a minute it caught from one end to the other, in that manner, that the whole Street was but one continued flame. Among those who us'd to wait on the King when he anointed and wash'd himself, and divert his Mind with pleasant discourses, there was one *Athenophanes* an *Athenian*, who desired him

An account of  
Naptha.

him to make an Experiment of the *Naptha* upon *Stephanus*, who stood by in the Bathing place, a very ugly ridiculous Youth, whose Talent was Singing well: For, said he, if it take hold of him and cannot be quenched, it must undeniably be allow'd to be of great and invincible strength. The Youth readily consented to undergo the Tryal, and as soon as he was anointed and rubb'd with it, his whole Body broke out into such a flame, and was so seiz'd by the fire, that *Alexander* was exceedingly perplex'd and concern'd for him, and not without reason; for nothing could have prevented his being consum'd by it, if by good chance there had not been People at hand with a great many Vessels of Water for the service of the Bath, with all which they had much ado to extinguish the fire; and his Body was so burn'd all over, that he was not cur'd of it a good while after. Not absurdly therefore do they endeavour to reconcile the Fable to Truth, who say, this was the Drug mention'd by the Poets, with which *Medea* anointed the Crown and Veil which she gave to *Creon's* daughter. For neither the things themselves, nor the fire could kindle of its own accord, but being prepar'd for it by the *Naptha*, they imperceptibly attracted and caught the flame: For the rays and emanations

with an Experiment of it.

And some conjectures.

πνευματικὴν  
Ενεργίαν.

\* Here some of  
the Original is  
lost.

Concerning the  
Nature of it.

of Fire, at a distance, have no other effect upon some Bodies, than bare light and heat; but in others where they meet with airy dryness, and also sufficient fat moisture, they collect themselves and soon prey upon and alter the matter. However, the production of *Naptha* admits of divers opinions: \* Whether this liquid Substance that feeds the flame, does not rather proceed from a Soil that is unctuous and productive of Fire, as that of the Province of *Babylon* is, where the ground is so very hot, that oftentimes the Grains of Barly leap up, and are thrown out, as if the violent Inflammation had given the Earth a pulse: And in extreme heats the Inhabitants are wont to sleep upon Skins fill'd with water. *Harpagus*, who was left Governor of this Country, and was desirous to adorn the Palace Gardens and Walks with *Grecian* Plants, succeeded in the raising of all but Ivy, which the Earth would not bear, but constantly kill'd: For being a Plant that loves a cold Soil, the temper of that mold which was violently hot, was improper for it. Such digressions as these the nicest Readers may endure, provided they are not too tedious.

Past Treasures  
found at Susa.

At the taking of *Susa*, *Alexander* found in the Palace 40000 Talents in Money ready coyn'd, besides an unspeakable quantity

ty of other Furniture and Treasure; amongst which was 5000 Talents worth of *Hermionique* Purple, that had been laid up there an hundred and ninety nine years, and yet kept its colour as fresh and lively as at first. The reason of which they say is, that in Dying the Purple they made use of Honey, and of white Oyl in the white Tincture, both which being of equal Age, still preserv'd their lustre clean and resplendent. *Dion* also relates, that the Kings of *Persia* had Water fetch'd from the *Nile* and the *Danubius*, which they laid up in their Treasuries, using it as an Argument of the Greatness of their Power and Universal Empire.

But the entrance into *Persia* being very difficult, by reason of the unevenness of the Ways, and that the Passes to secure *Darius*, who was retired thither, were guarded by the best of his Forces, *Alexander* hapned upon a Guide exactly correspondent to what the *Pythia* had foretold when he was a Child; That a *Lycian* should conduct him in his Journey into *Persia*; for by such an one, whose Father was a *Lycian* and his Mother a *Persian*, and who spoke both Languages, he was led into the Country by a way something about, yet without fetching any considerable compass. Here a great many of the Prisoners

Prisoners were put to the Sword, of which himself gives this account, That he commanded them to be kill'd out of an apprehension it would be advantageous to his Affairs: Nor was his Booty in Money less here than at *Susa*, besides other Movables and Treasure, as much as 10000 pair of Mules and five thousand Camels could well carry away. When *Alexander* saw a vast Statue of *Xerxes* thrown down on a sudden, by the multitudes of Soldiers that broke into the Palace; he stood still, and accosting it as if it had been alive; *Shall we*, said he, *neglectfully pass thee by now thou art prostrate on the ground, because thou once invadedst Greece, or shall we Erect thee again in consideration of the Greatness of thy Mind and thy other Vertues?* But at last, after he had paus'd a pretty while, he went on without taking any further notice of it. In this place he took up his Winter Quarters, and staid four months to refresh his Soldiers. The first time he sat on the Royal Throne of *Persia* under a Canopy of Gold, *Demaratus* the *Corinthian*, a well-wisher to *Alexander*, and one of his Fathers friends, wept, Good Old Man, and deplored the misfortune of the *Grecians*, that by Death were depriv'd of the satisfaction to see *Alexander* Seated on *Darius* his Throne.

From

From hence designing to march against *Darius*, before he set out, he diverted himself with his Officers at an Entertainment of Drinking, and other Pastimes, and indulg'd so far as to have every one his Mistress sit by and drink with them. The most celebrated of them was *Thais* an *Athenian*, *Ptolemy's* Mistress, who was afterwards King of *Egypt*. She sometimes cunningly prais'd *Alexander*, sometimes play'd upon him and rally'd him, and all the while drank so freely, that at last she fell to talk extravagantly, as those of her Country us'd to do, much above her character or condition. She said it was indeed some recompence for the pains she had taken in following the Camp all over *Asia*, that she was that day Treated in, and could insult over the Stately Palace of the *Persian* Monarchs: But she added, it would please her much better, if while the King look'd on, she might in sport, with her own hands, set fire to *Xerxes* his Court, who reduc'd the City of *Athens* to Ashes; that it might be recorded to Posterity, that the Women who follow'd *Alexander*, had taken a sharper revenge on the *Persians* for the Sufferings and Affronts of *Greece*, than all his Commanders could do by Sea or Land. What she said was receiv'd with such universal liking, and

*Xerxes his  
Palace burnt by  
Thais an  
Athenian whore.*

*His Speech to  
Xerxes his  
Statue.*

and murmurs of Applause, and so seconded by the encouragement and eagerness of the Company, that the King himself, perswaded to be of the Party, started from his Seat, and with a Chaplet of Flowers on his Head, and a lighted Torch in his Hand, led them the way, who went after him in a riotous manner, dancing, and making loud noises about the place: which when the rest of the *Macedonians* perceiv'd, they also with all the Joy imaginable ran thither with Torches; for they hop'd the burning and destruction of the Royal Palace, was an Argument that he look'd homeward, and had no design to reside among the *Barbarians*. Thus some Writers give an account of this Action, and others say it was done deliberately; however all agree that he soon repented of it, and gave order to put out the fire.

Several instances of Alexander's Magnificence.

To Ariston.

*Alexander* was naturally very munificent, and grew more so as his Fortune increas'd, accompanying what he gave with that courtesie and freedom, which, to speak truth, is absolutely necessary to make a Benefit really obliging. I will give you a few Instances of this kind. *Ariston*, the Captain of the *Pæonians*, having kill'd an Enemy, brought his Head to shew him, and told him, *That among them such a Present was recompens'd with a Cup of Gold.*

With

With an empty one, said *Alexander* smiling, but I drink to you in this full of Wine, which I give you. Another time, as one of the common Souldiers was driving a Mule laden with some of the King's Treasure, the Beast tir'd, and the Souldier took it upon his own Back, and began to march with it, till *Alexander* seeing the Fellow so over-charg'd, ask'd what was the matter, and when he was inform'd, just as he was ready to lay down his Burthen for weariness: *Do not faint now*, said he to him, *but keep on the rest of your way, and carry what you have there, to your own Tent for your self.* He was always more displeas'd with those who would not accept of what he gave, than with those who continually begg'd of him. And therefore he wrote to *Phocion*, *That he should not take him for his Friend any longer, if he refus'd his Presents.* Nor would he ever give any thing to *Serapion*, one of the Youths that play'd at Ball with him, because he did not ask of him; till one day it coming to *Serapion's* Turn to play, he still threw the Ball to others, and when the King ask'd him, *Why he did not direct it to him? Because you did not desire it*, said he; which Answer pleas'd him so, that he was very liberal to him afterwards. One *Proteas*, a pleasant, drolling, drinking

To a poor Souldier.

To Phocion.

To Serapion.



ing Fellow, having incurr'd his Displeasure, got his Friends to intercede for him, and begg'd his pardon himself with tears, which at last prevail'd, and *Alexander* declar'd he was Friends with him. *I cannot believe it Sir, said Proteas, unless you first give me some pledge of your Reconciliation.* The King understood his meaning, and presently order'd him to receive five Talents. How generous he was in enriching his Friends, and those who attended on his Person, appears by a Letter which *Olympias* wrote to him, where she tells him, *He should reward and honour those about him in a more moderate way ; for now, said she, you make them all equal to Kings, you give them power and opportunity to improve their own Interest, by obliging of many to them, and in the mean time do not consider, that you leave your self bare and destitute.* She often wrote to him to this purpose, and he never communicated her Letters to any body, unless it were one which he open'd when *Hephestion* was by, whom he permitted to read it along with him ; but then, as soon as he had done, he took off his Ring, and clapp'd the Seal upon his Lips. *Mazeus*, who was the most considerable man in *Darius* his Court, had a Son who was already Governour of a very good Province; but *Alexander* would

To Proteas.

To Mazeus.

needs

needs bestow another upon him that was better, which he modestly refus'd, and withal told him, *Instead of one Darius, he went the way to make many Alexanders.* To *Parmenio* he gave *Bagoas* his House, in which he found a Wardrobe of Apparel worth more than 1000 *Susian* Talents. He wrote to *Antipater*, commanding him to keep a Life-guard about him, for the security of his Person against Conspiracies. And to his Mother he was very grateful, in sending her many Presents, but would never suffer her to meddle with Matters of State or War, not indulging her busie Temper ; and when she fell out with him upon this account, he bore her ill Humour very patiently. Nay more, when he read a long Letter from *Antipater*, full of Accusations against her : *I wonder, said he, Antipater should not know, that one Tear of a Mother effaces a thousand such Letters as these.*

To Parmenio.

But when he perceiv'd his Favourites grow so luxurious, and extravagant in their way of Living and Expences ; that *Agnon* the *Teian* wore silver Nails in his Shoes ; that *Leonatus* employ'd several Camels, only to bring him Powder out of *Egypt*, to use when he wrestl'd ; and that *Philotas* had Toys to take wild Beasts, that reach'd 12500 paces in length ;

He reproves the Luxury of his Favourites.

length; that more us'd precious Oynments than plain Oyl when they went to bathe, and that they had Servants every where with them, to rub them and wait upon them in their Chambers: he reprov'd them with great mildness and discretion, telling them, he wondred that they who had been engag'd in so many signal Battels, should not know by experience, that Labour and Industry made People sleep more sweetly and soundly than Laziness; and that if they compar'd the *Persians* manner of Living with their own, they would be convinc'd, it was the most abject, slavish condition in the world to be effeminate and voluptuous, but the most generous and becoming a Great man to take pains. Besides he reason'd with them, how it was possible for any one who pretended to be a Souldier, either to look well after his Horse, or to keep his Armour bright and in good order, who thought much to let his Hands be serviceable to what was nearest to him, his own Body. *Are ye still to learn*, said he, *the End and Perfection of our Victories is to avoid the Vices and Infirmities of those whom we subdue?* And to strengthen his Precepts by Example, he applied himself now more vigorously than ever to Hunting and warlike Expeditions, readily embracing

bracing all opportunities of Hardship and Danger; insomuch that old *Laron*, who chanced to be by, when he encounter'd with, and master'd an huge Lion, told him, *He had put his Empire in Competition, and had fought gallantly with the Beast, which of the two should be King.* Craterus caus'd a Representation of this Adventure, consisting of the Lion and the Dogs, of the King engag'd with the Lion, and himself coming in to his assistance, all express'd in Figures of Brass, some of which were made by *Lysippus*; and the rest by *Leocharres*, to be dedicated to the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*. In this manner did *Alexander* expose his Person to Danger, whilst he both incur'd himself, and incited others to the performance of brave and virtuous Actions.

But his Followers who were grown rich, and consequently proud, long'd to indulge themselves in Pleasure and Idleness, and were perfectly weary of the Toyls and Inconveniencies of War, and by degrees came to be so impudently ungrateful, as to censure and speak ill of him behind his back. All which at first he bore very patiently, saying, *It became a King well to do good to others, and be evil spoken of.* But to descend to some Instances of an inferiour nature, it is certain, that

*His Encounter with a Lion, was first in Figures of Brass dedicated to Apollo at Delphos.*

*The ingratitude of his Followers.*

How tender he  
was of his  
Friends Health

in the least demonstrations of Kindness to his Friends, there was still a great mixture of Tenderneſs and Reſpect. Hearing *Penceſtes* was bitten by a Bear, he wrote to him, *That he took it unkindly, he ſhould ſend others notice of it, and not make him acquainted with it; but now, ſaid he, ſince it is ſo, let me know how you do, and whether any of your Companions forſook you when you were in danger, that I may puniſh them.* He ſent *Hepheſtion*, who was abſent about ſome buſineſs, word, *How, while they were fighting for their diverſion with an Ichneumon, Craterus was by chance run through both Thighs with Perdiccas his Javelin.* And upon *Penceſtes* his recovery from a Fit of Sickneſs, he ſent a Letter of Thanks to his Phyſician *Alexippus*. When *Craterus* was ill, he ſaw a Viſion in his Sleep, after which he offer'd Sacrifices for his Health, and commanded him to do ſo likewiſe. He wrote alſo to *Pauſanius* the Phyſician, who was about to purge *Craterus* with Hellebore, partly out of an anxious Concern for him, and partly to give him a Caution how he uſ'd that Medicine. He was ſo tender of his Friends Reputation, that he impriſon'd *Ephialtes* and *Ciſſus*, who brought him the firſt News of *Harpalus* his Flight, and withdrawing from his Service, as if they had falſly accuſ'd him.

and Reputation

When

When he ſent the old infirm Souldiers home, *Eurylochus* the *Ægean* got his Name enroll'd among the Sick, though he ail'd nothing; which being discover'd, he confeſs'd he was in Love with a young Woman nam'd *Telerippa*, and had a mind to go along with her to the Sea ſide. *Alexander* enquir'd, *To whom the Woman belong'd?* and being told, *She was an Whore at her own diſpoſal: I will aſſiſt you,* ſaid he to *Eurylochus*, *all I can in your Amour, if your Miſtreſs be to be gain'd either by Preſents or Perſuaſions; but we muſt uſe no other means, becauſe ſhe is free-born.* It is ſurprizing to conſider, upon what ſlight occasions he would write Letters to ſerve his Friends. As when he wrote one, in which he gave order to ſearch for a Youth that belong'd to *Selencus*, who was run away into *Cilicia*. In another he thank'd and commended *Penceſtes*, for apprehending *Nicon*, a Servant of *Craterus*. And to *Megabyſus*, concerning a Slave that had taken Sanctuary in a Temple, he wrote, that he ſhould not meddle with him while he was there, but if he could entice him out by fair means, then he gave him leave to ſeize him. It is reported of him, that when he ſate in Judgement upon capital Cauſes, he would lay his Hand upon one of his Ears, while the Accuſer ſpoke,

Aſſiſts them in  
their Love,

and domeſtick  
Affairs.

spoke, to keep it free and unprejudic'd in behalf of the Party accus'd. But afterwards such a multitude of Accusations were brought before him, whereof many proving true, exasperated him so, that he gave credit to those also that were false, and especially when any body spoke ill of him, he would be so out of measure transported, that he became cruel and inexorable, valuing his Glory and Reputation far beyond either his Life or Kingdom.

His Affairs call'd upon him now to look after *Darius*, expecting he should be put to the hazard of another Battel; till he heard he was taken, and secur'd by *Bessus*, upon which news he sent home the *Thesalians*, and gave them a largess of 2000 Talents, over and above the pay that was due to them. This long and painful pursuit of *Darius*, (for in eleven days he march'd 412 Miles) harass'd his Soldiers so, that most of them were ready to faint, chiefly for want of Water. While they were in this distress, it hapned that some *Macedonians*, who had fetch'd Water in Skins upon their Mules from a River they had found out, came about Noon to the place where *Alexander* was, and seeing him almost chok'd with Thirst, presently fill'd an Helmet, and offered it him. He ask'd them to whom they were carrying

the

the Water? They told him to their Children, adding withal, that if his Life were but preserv'd, it was no matter for them, they should have opportunities enough to repair that loss, tho' they all perish'd. Then he took the Helmet into his hands, and looking round about when he saw all those who were near him stretch'd their heads out, and giv'd earnestly after the Drink; he return'd it again with thanks, without tasting a drop of it: *For*, said he, *if I only should drink, the rest will be quite out of heart and faint.* The Soldiers no sooner took notice of his Temperance, and Magnanimity upon this occasion, but they, one and all, cried out to him to lead them on boldly, and sell a whipping their Horses to make them mend their pace; for whilst they had such a King, they said they desied either Weariness or Thirst, and look'd upon themselves to be little less than immortal. But tho' they were all equally cheerful and willing, yet not above three score Horses were able to keep up, and fall in with *Alexander* upon the Enemies Camp; where they rode over abundance of Gold and Silver that lay scattered about, and passing by a great many Chariots full of Women, that wandred here and there for want of Drivers, they endeavour'd to overtake the first of those

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that

A long March  
in pursuit of  
*Darius*.

A remarkable  
instance of A-  
lexander's Tem-  
perance and  
dignity.

that fled, in hopes to meet with *Darius* among them: And at last, with much ado, they found him lying along in a Chariot, all over wounded with Darts, just at the point of Death. However, he desired they would give him some drink, and when he had drank a little cold water, he told *Polysstratus* who gave it him, *Thus to receive such a Benefit, and not have it in his power to return it, was the highest pitch of his misfortune. But Alexander, said he, whose kindness to my Mother, my Wife, and my Children, I hope the Gods will recompence, will doubtless thank you for your Humanity to me. Tell him therefore in token of my Acknowledgment, I give him this Right Hand:* At which words he took hold of *Polysstratus* his Hand, and died. When *Alexander* came up to them, he was sensibly touch'd at the unfortunate End of so Great a Man, and pulling off his own Coat, threw it upon the Body to cover it. And to shew how much he detested so horrid a fact, as soon as *Bessus* was taken, he order'd him to be torn in pieces in this manner. They fastned him to a couple of tall strait Trees, which were bound down so as to meet, and then being let loose, with a great force return'd to their places, each of them carrying that part of the Body along with it that was tyed to it. *Darius* his Body

The Death of  
*Darius*.

And Punish-  
ment of *Bessus*.

Body was laid in State, and sent to his Mother with Pomp suitable to his quality. His Brother *Exathres*, *Alexander* receiv'd into the number of his most intimate Friends.

And now with the Flower of his Army he march'd down into *Hyrkania*, where he saw a Gulph of the Sea, not much less than the *Euxine*, and found its Water sweeter than that of other Seas; but could learn nothing of certainty concerning it, farther than that in all probability it seem'd to him to be an overflowing of the Lake of *Meotis*, or at least to have Communication with it. However the Naturalists better inform'd of the Truth, give us this account of it many years before *Alexander's* Expedition; that of four Gulphs which out of the main Sea enter into the Continent, this is the most Northern, and is known by the Name both of the *Hyrcanian* and *Caspian* Sea. Here the *Barbarians* unexpectedly meeting with those who led *Bucphalus*, took them Prisoners, and carried the Horse away with them; which *Alexander* was so offended at, that he sent an Herald to let them know, he would put them all to the Sword, Men, Women, and Children, without mercy, if they did not restore him; which they immediately did, and

conjectures  
about the Cas-  
pian Sea.

at the same time surrendred their Cities into his hands; upon which, he not only treated them very kindly, but also paid a good Ransom for his Horse to those who took him.

Alexander puts  
on the Persian  
Habit.

From hence he march'd into *Parthia*, where not having much to do, he first put on the *Barbarick* Habit, which Compliance perhaps he us'd in order to civilize them; for nothing gains more upon men, than a Conformity to their Fashions and Customs: or it may be he did it as an Essay, whether the *Macedonians* would be brought to adore him, (as the *Persians* did their Kings) by accustoming them by little and little to bear with the alteration of his Discipline, and course of Life in other things. However he follow'd not the *Median* Fashion, which was altogether barbarous and uncouth; for he wore neither their Breeches, nor their long Vest, nor their Tiara for the Head, but taking a middle way between the *Persian* Mode and the *Macedonian*, he so contriv'd his Habit, that it was not so flanting as the former, and yet more pompous and magnificent than the latter. At first he wore this Habit only when he convers'd with Strangers or within doors, among his intimate Friends and Companions, but afterwards he appear'd in it abroad, and at

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publick Audiences. A Sight which the *Macedonians* beheld with exceeding Grief; but they were so charm'd with his other Vertues and good Qualities, that they could not but think it reasonable in some things to gratifie his Humour, and his passionate desire of Glory: in pursuit of which he hazarded himself so far, that besides his other Adventures, he had but newly been wounded in the Leg by an Arrow, which had so shatter'd the Shank-bone, that Splinters were taken out. And another time he receiv'd such a violent Blow with a Stone upon the Nape of the Neck, as dimn'd his Sight a good while afterwards. But all this could not hinder him from exposing himself to the greatest Dangers, without any regard to his Person; insomuch that he pass'd the River *Oreaxartes*, which he took to be the *Tanaïs*, and putting the *Scythians* to flight, follow'd them above 12 mile in their Rear, though at the same time he had a violent Flux upon him. Here many affirm, that the *Amazons* Queen came to give him a Visit: to report *Clitarchus*, *Polycritus* and *Onesimus*, *Antimachus* and *Ister*, *Aristobulus* and *Chares*, besides *Ptolemy* and *Anticles*, *Philotas* the *Theban*, and *Philip* the Master of Requests. But then on the other side, *Hecataeus* the *Eretrian*, *Philip* the

Which grieves  
the Macedoni-  
ans.

The Story of  
the Amazoni-  
an Queen com-  
ing to visit  
him, is a Fable  
on.

the Chalcidian, and *Duris* the Samian say, it is wholly a Fiction. And truly *Alexander* himself seems to confirm the opinion of the latter; for in a Letter, in which he gives *Antipater* an account of all Passages, he tells him, that the King of *Scythia* offer'd him his Daughter in Marriage, but makes no mention at all of the Amazon. And many years after, when *Onesicritus* read this Story in his 4th. Book to *Lysimachus*, who then reign'd, the King fell a laughing at it, and ask'd, *How such a thing should happen, and he know nothing of it, though he was present?*

He persuades  
his men to per-  
sue the War.

But it signifies little to *Alexander* whether this be credited or no: certain it is, that apprehending the *Macedonians* would be weary of pursuing the War, he left the gross of his Army in their Quarters; and having with him in *Hyrcania* the choice of his men only, which amounted to 20000 Foot, and 3000 Horse, he spoke to them to this effect: *That hitherto the Barbarians had sent them no otherwise than as it were in a Dream, and if they should think of returning when they had only alarm'd Asia, and not conquer'd it, their Enemies would set upon them, and destroy them like so many Women: however he told them, he would keep none of them with him against their will, they might go if they pleas'd, but withal pro-*

test

tested against those who should be so mean-spirited as to desert him, and his Friends, and those who were willing to fight under him still, in an Enterprize so glorious as it would be, to make the *Macedonians* Lords of the habitable World. This is almost word for word, as he wrote it in a Letter to *Antipater*, where he adds, *That when he had thus spoken to them, they all cried out, they would go along with him, whithersoever it was his pleasure to lead them.* When he had in this manner gain'd the Principal, it was no hard matter for him to bring over the Multitude, which in such Cases easily follows the Example of their Betters. Now also he more and more accommodated himself in his way of Living to that of the *Persians*, and brought them as near as he could to the *Macedonian* Customs; wisely considering, that since he design'd an Expedition, which would carry him far from thence, it was better to settle

His Methods to  
preserve his  
new Conquests.

Affairs in his absence, by a mixture of their Constitutions, and mutual Society with Good-will, than by Compulsion. In order to this he chose out 30000 Boys, whom he allow'd Masters to teach them the Greck Tongue, and to train them up to Arms in the *Macedonian* Discipline. As for his Marriage of *Roxana*, whose good Meen and Beauty had charm'd him, at a Drink-

Drinking-entertainment, where he first happen'd to see her, it was perfectly the effect of Love, nor did it appear to be at all prejudicial to his Interest, as things stood with him at that time: for it put the conquer'd People in heart, and made them confide in him, and love him more than ever, when they saw how continent he was, and that he forbore the only Woman he was ever in Love with, till he could enjoy her in a lawful and honourable way.

*The political  
use he made of  
his Favourites.*

When he perceiv'd that among his chief Friends and Favourites, *Hephestion* most approv'd all that he did, and comply'd with, and imitated him in his Habit, while *Craterus* continued strict in the observation of the Customs and Fashions of his own Countrey: he made the best use of them both, employing the first in all Transactions with the *Persians*, and the latter when he had to do with the *Greeks*, or *Macedonians*. It is true, he lov'd *Hephestion* best as a Favourite, because he lov'd *Alexander*, but then he esteem'd and honour'd *Craterus* most as a Friend, because he lov'd the King. Wherefore these two great men bore one another secret Grudges, and often clash'd and quarrell'd so far, that once in *India* they drew upon one another, and were going to it in good ear-

earnest, with their Friends on each side to second them, till *Alexander* came up to them, and publicly reprov'd *Hephestion*, calling him Fool and Mad-man, not to be sensible that without his Favour he was but a Cipher. He chid *Craterus* also in private very severely, and then causing them both to come into his presence, he reconcil'd them, at the same time swearing by *Jupiter Ammon*, and the rest of the Gods, that he lov'd them two above all other men; but if ever he perceiv'd them fall out again, he would be sure to put both of them to death, at least the Aggressor: after which, they neither ever did, or said any thing, so much as in jest to offend one another.

None had more Authority among the *Macedonians* than *Philotas*, the Son of *Parmenio*: for besides that he was valiant, and able to endure any Fatigue of War, he was also next to *Alexander* himself the most munificent, and the greatest lover of his Friends; one of whom asking him for some Money, he commanded his Steward to give it him; and when he told him, he had not wherewith, *Have you not Plate then, said he, and Cloaths of mine? turn them into Money rather than let my Friend go without.* But he was so very proud and insolent by reason of his Wealth, and

*The Fall of  
Philotas occa-  
sion'd by his  
arrogance.*



and so over-nice about his Person and Diet, more than became a private man, that he awkwardly and unseemingly affected the Air and Character of Greatness, without the Civility and obliging Temper which ought to accompany it, and so gain'd nothing but Envy and Ill-will to that degree, that *Parmenio* would sometimes tell him, *My Son, the meaner the better*. For he had long before been complain'd of, and accus'd to *Alexander*; particularly when *Darius* was overthrown in *Cilicia*, and an immense Booty was taken at *Damascus*, among the rest of the Prisoners who were brought into the Camp, there was one *Antigone* of *Pydna*, a very handsom Woman, who fell to *Philotas* his share. The young man one day in his Cups, like an arrogant, bragging Souldier, told his Mistress, *That all the great Actions were perform'd by him and his Father, the Glory and Benefit of which, he said, together with the Title of King, that Stripling Alexander reap'd and enjoy'd by their means*. She could not hold, but discover'd what he had said, to one of her Acquaintance, and he, as is usual in such Cases, to another, till at last it came to the King. When *Alexander* had heard what she had to say, he commanded her to continue her Intrigue with *Philotas*, and give him an account from

He is betray'd  
by his Mistress  
Antigone.

from time to time of all that should fall from him to this purpose: who being through Inadvertency caught in this snare, sometimes to gratifie his Passion, and sometimes his Vain-glory, blurted out many foolish, indiscreet Speeches against the King in *Antigone's* hearing; of which though *Alexander* was inform'd, and convinc'd by strong Evidence, yet he would take no notice of it at present, whether it was, that he confided in *Parmenio's* Affection and Loyalty, or that he apprehended their Authority and Interest in the Army. About this time one *Dimnus*, a Macedonian Native of *Chalestra*, conspir'd against *Alexander's* Life, and communicated his Design to a Youth whom he lov'd, nam'd *Nicomachus*, inviting him to be of the Party. But he not relishing the thing, reveal'd it to his Brother *Balinus*, who immediately address'd himself to *Philotas*, requiring him to introduce them both to *Alexander*, to whom they had something of great moment to impart, which very nearly concern'd him. But he, for what Reason is uncertain, went not with them, pretending the King was taken up with Affairs of more importance: and when they had urg'd him a 2d. time, and were still slighted by him, they applied themselves to another; by whose means being ad-

*Dimnus his  
conspiracy.*

admitted into *Alexander's* presence, they first laid open *Dimnus* his Conspiracy, and then represented *Philotas* his Negligence, who had taken so little notice of their repeated Solicitations; which extremely exasperated *Alexander*, especially when sending to apprehend *Dimnus*, he understood that he defended himself, and chose rather to be slain than taken; for by his Death he thought he was deprived of the means of making a full discovery of the Plot. As soon as his Displeasure against *Philotas* began to appear, presently all his old Enemies shew'd themselves, and said openly, *The King was too easily impos'd on, to imagine, that one so inconsiderable as Dimnus the Chalæstrian, should of his own head undertake such an Enterprize; that in all likelihood he was but subservient to the Design, an Instrument that was mov'd by some greater Spring; that they ought to be most strictly examin'd about the Matter, whose Interest it was so much to conceal it.* When they had once fill'd the King's Head with these and the like Speeches and Suspicions, they loaded *Philotas* daily with innumerable Crimes, till at last they prevail'd to have him seiz'd, and put to the Question, which was done in the presence of the principal Officers, *Alexander* himself being plac'd behind the Tapestry, to

The Falshood of Court-Friends.

understand what pass'd. Where when he heard in what a miserable Tone, and with what abject Submissions *Philotas* applied himself to *Hephestion*, he broke out in this manner: *Art thou so mean-spirited and effeminate, Philotas, said he, and yet engage thy self in so desperate a Design? After his Death, he presently sent into Media, to take off Parmenio his Father, who had done brave Service under Philip, and was the only man, especially of his old Friends and Counsellors, who had encourag'd Alexander to invade Asia. Of three Sons which he had in the Army, he had already lost two, and now was himself put to death with the third. These Actions rendred Alexander formidable to many of his Friends, and chiefly to Antipater, who thereupon to strengthen himself, sent Ambassadors privately to the Etolians, to treat an Alliance with them; for they stood in fear of Alexander, because they had destroy'd the Oeniades, of which when he was inform'd, he said, The Children of the Oeniades need not revenge their Father's Quarrel, for he would himself take care to punish the Etolians.*

The Death of Philotas, and his Father Parmenio.

Not long after this happen'd the deplorable End of *Clitus*, which to those who barely hear the matter of Fact, may seem more inhumane than that of *Philotas*.

The Murder of Clitus.

A a

But

But if we take the Story with its Circumstance of Time, and weigh the Cause, we shall find the King did it not on purpose, but by evil Chance, and that his Passion and Drunkenness were the occasion of *Clitus* his Misfortune, which came to pass in this manner. The King had a Present of *Græcian* Fruit brought him from the Sea-coast, which was so very fresh and fair, that he was surpriz'd at it, and call'd *Clitus* to him to see it, and to give him a share of it. *Clitus* was then sacrificing, but he immediately left off, and came, follow'd by three Sheep, on whom the Drink-offering had been already pour'd, in order to sacrifice them; which when *Alexander* saw, he told his Diviners, *Aristander*, and *Cleomantis* the *Lacedemonian*, of it, and ask'd them what it meant: who assuring him, it was an ill Omen, he commanded them in all haste to offer Sacrifices for *Clitus* his Safety, forasmuch as three days before he himself had seen a strange Vision in his Sleep, of *Clitus* all in Mourning, sitting by *Parmenio's* Sons who were dead. *Clitus* however staid not to finish his Devotions, but came strait to Supper with the King, who the same day had sacrific'd to *Castor* and *Pollux*. And when they had drank pretty hard, some of the Company fell a singing the Verses of

of one *Pranichus*, or as others say, of *Picrion*, which were made upon those Captains who had been lately worsted by the *Barbarians*, on purpose to disgrace and turn them to Ridicule, which so offended the grave, ancient Men, that they reprov'd both the Author, and the Singer of the Verses, though *Alexander* and the Blades about him were mightily pleas'd to hear them, and encourag'd them to go on: till at last *Clitus* who had drank too much, and was besides of a froward, and wilful Temper, was so nettled that he could hold no longer, saying, *It was not well done to expose the Macedonians so before the Barbarians, and their Enemies, since though it was their unhappiness to be overcome, yet they were much better Men than those who laugh'd at them.* To this *Alexander* replied, *That sure Clitus spoke so tenderly of Cowardise when he call'd it Misfortune, only to excuse himself.* At which *Clitus* starting up, *This Cowardise, as you are pleas'd to term it, said he to him, sav'd your Life, though you pretend to be sprung from the Gods, when you were running away from Spithridates his Sword; and it is by the expense of Macedonian Blood, and by these Wounds, that you are now rais'd to such an height, as to despise and disown your Father Philip, and adopt your self the Son of Jupiter.*

Princes cannot  
bear bold  
Truths.

ter Ammon. *Thou base Fellow*, said Alexander, who was now thoroughly exasperated, *dost thou think to utter these things every where of me, and stir up the Macedonians to Sedition, and not be punish'd for it? We are sufficiently punish'd already*, answer'd Clitus, *if this be the Recompence of our Toyls; and esteem those happiest, who have not liv'd to see their Countrey-men ignominiously scourg'd with Median Rods, and forc'd to sue to the Persians to have access to their King*. While he talk'd thus at Random, and those who were by thwarted and reprovd him, the old men endeavour'd all they could to compose the Business. Alexander in the mean time turning about to Xenodochus the Cardian, and Artemius the Colophenian, ask'd them, *If they were not of opinion, that the rest of the Græcians, in comparison with the Macedonians, behav'd themselves like so many demi-Gods among wild Beasts?* But Clitus for all this would not give over, desiring Alexander to speak out, if he had any thing more to say, or else why did he invite men who were Free-born, and us'd to speak their minds openly without restraint, to sup with him? he had better live, and converse with Barbarians, and conquer'd Slaves, who would not scruple to adore his Persian Girdle, and his white Tunick. Which

Which words so provok'd Alexander, that not able to suppress his Anger any longer, he threw one of the Apples that lay upon the Table at him, and hit him, and then look'd about for his Sword. But Aristophanes, one of his Life-guard, had hid that out of the way, and others came about him, and besought him to stay his Fury, but in vain; for breaking from them, he call'd out aloud to his Guards in the Macedonian Language, which was a certain sign of some great Disturbance towards, and commanded a Trumpeter to sound, giving him a Box on the Ear for not presently obeying him; though afterwards the same man was commended for disobeying an Order, which would have put the whole Army into Tumult and Confusion. Clitus continued still in the same quarrellous Humour, till his Friends with much ado forc'd him out of the Room; but he came in again immediately at another Door, very irreverently and confidently singing this Verse out of Euripides his *Andromache*.

*Alas in Greece how ill Affairs are govern'd?*

Then Alexander snatching a Spear from one of the Souldiers, met Clitus as he was putting by the Curtain that hung before

the Door, and ran him through the Body, so that he fell down, and after a few Sighs and Groans died. At sight of which the King's Anger presently vanishing, he came perfectly to himself, and when he saw his Friends about him all in a profound Silence, he pull'd the Spear out of the dead Body, and would have thrust it into his own Throat, if the Guards had not held his Hands, and by main Force carried him away into his Chamber, where all that night and the next day he wept bitterly, till being quite spent with crying and lamenting, he lay as it were speechless, only fetching deep Sighs. His Friends apprehending some dangerous consequence of his Silence, broke into the Room; but he took no notice of what any of them said, till *Aristander* putting him in mind of the Vision he had seen concerning *Clitus*, and the Prodigy that follow'd, as if all had come to pass by an unavoidable Fatality, he then seem'd to moderate his Grief. They also brought *Callisthenes* the Philosopher, who was nearly related to *Aristotle*, and *Anaxarchus* of *Abdera*, to him. *Callisthenes* endeavour'd to alleviate his Sorrow with moral Discourses, and gentle Insinuations, without offending him. But *Anaxarchus*, who was always singular in his Method of Phi-

Alexander  
repents of  
Clitus his Death.

Both Priests

Philosophy, and was thought to slight those of his own Time, as soon as he came in, cried out aloud, *Is this the Alexander whom the whole World looks upon with such admiration? See how meanly he weeps like an abject Captive, for fear of the Censure and Reproach of men, to whom he himself ought to be a Law, and measure of Equity, if he would make a right use of his Victories, as supreme Lord and Governour of all, and not be a Slave to a vain, idle Opinion.* Do not you know, said he, that Jupiter is represent-  
ed to have Justice and Law on each hand of him? the meaning of which is, that all the Actions of a Prince are lawful and just. With these and the like Speeches, *Anaxarchus* indeed allay'd the King's Grief, but withal corrupted his Manners, rendring him more dissolute and violent than he was before. Nor did he fail by these means to insinuate himself into his Favour, and to make *Callisthenes* his Conversation, which otherwise because of his Austerity was not very acceptable, more uneasy and disagreeable to him.

It happen'd that these two Philosophers meeting at an Entertainment, where the Company discours'd of the Seasons of the Year, and the Temperature of the Air; *Callisthenes* joyn'd with their opinion, who held, that those Countreys were

Callisthenes  
his true Jest  
upon Anaxar-  
chus.

colder, and the Winter sharper there than in Greece; which *Anaxarchus* would by no means allow of, but contradicted with great Obstinacy. Sure, said Callisthenes to him, *you must needs confess this Countrey to be colder than Greece, for there you had but one threadbare Cloak to keep out the coldest Winter, and here you have three good warm Mantles one over another.* This piece of Raillery not only exceedingly exasperated *Anaxarchus*, but likewise piqu'd the other Pretenders to Learning, and the Crowd of Flatterers, who could not endure to see him so belov'd and follow'd by the Youth, and no less esteem'd by the ancient Men for his good Life, his Modesty, Gravity, and being contented with his Condition. All which confirm'd what he gave out of his Design in this Voyage to *Alexander*, that it was only to get his Countreymen recall'd from Banishment, and to rebuild and repeople *Abdera* where he was born. Besides the Envy which his great Reputation rais'd, he also by his own Deportment gave those who wish'd him ill, opportunity to do him Mischiefe. For when he was invited to publick Entertainments, he would most-times refuse to come, or if he were present at any, he put a Constraint upon the Company by his Moroseness and Silence,

lence, seeming to disapprove of every thing they did or said; which made *Alexander* say this of him:

*That vain pretence to Wisdom I detest,  
Where a man's blind to his own Interest.*

Being with many more invited to sup with the King, he was commanded to make an Oration *extempore* while they were drinking, in praise of the *Macedonians*; and he did it with such a Torrent of Eloquence, that all who heard it exceedingly applauded him, and threw their Garlands upon him, only *Alexander* told him out of *Euripides*,

*I wonder not that you have spoke so well,  
'Tis easie on good Subjects to excel.*

Therefore, said he, *if you will shew the force of your Eloquence, tell my Macedonians their Faults, and dispraise them, that by hearing their Errors, they may learn to be better for the future.* Callisthenes presently obey'd him, retracting all he had said before, and inveighing against the *Macedonians* with great freedom, added, *That Philip thriv'd, and grew powerful, chiefly by the*

*the Discord of the Græcians, applying this Verse to him :*

*Where-ever Feuds and civil Discords reign,  
There the worst men most Reputation gain.*

Which so disoblig'd the *Macedonians*, that he was odious to them ever after. And *Alexander* said, *That instead of his Eloquence, he had only made his Ill-will appear in what he had spoken.* *Hermippus* assures us, That one *Stroebus*, a Servant whom *Callisthenes* kept to read to him, gave this account of these Passages afterwards to *Aristotle* ; and that when he perceiv'd the King grow more and more averse to him, he mutter'd this Verse out of *Homer* two or three times to himself, as he was going away :

*Death seiz'd at last on Great Patroclus too,  
Though he in Vertue far surmounted you.*

The Character  
and Fall of  
*Callisthenes*.

Not without Reason therefore did *Aristotle* give this Character of *Callisthenes*, *That he was indeed an excellent Orator, but had no Judgement at all.* For though we grant, it was resolutely and Philosophically done of him, not to worship the King, though by talking publicly against that which the best and gravest of the  
Ma-

*Macedonians* only repin'd at in secret, he put a stop to their base Adoration, and deliver'd the *Græcians* and *Alexander* himself from a great deal of Infamy : yet in the close he ruin'd himself by it, because he went too roughly to work, as if he would have forc'd the King to that which he should have effected by Reason and Perswasion. *Chares of Mytilene* writes, That at a Banquet, *Alexander* after he had drank, reach'd the Cup to one of his Friends, who receiving it, rose up towards the Domestick Altar, and when he had drank, first ador'd, and then kiss'd *Alexander*, and afterwards sat down at the Table with the rest. Which they all did one after another, till it came to *Callisthenes* his Turn, who taking the Cup, drank it off, when the King, who was engag'd in Discourse with *Hephestion*, did not mind him, and then offer'd to kiss him. But *Demetrius*, surnam'd *Pheidon*, interpos'd, saying, *Sir, by no means let him kiss you, for he only of us all has refus'd to adore you ; upon which the King declin'd it, and all the Concern* *Callisthenes* shew'd, was, that he said aloud, *Then I go away with a Kiss less than the rest.* The Displeasure he incurr'd by this Action, was improv'd by *Hephestion's* affirming, that he had broke his word to him, in  
not

*who offends Alexander by his insolence, and refusing to adore him.*

not paying the King the same Veneration that others did, as he had faithfully promis'd to do. And to finish his Disgrace, *Lyfimachus* and *Agnon* added, That this Sophister went about priding himself, as if he stood in the Gap against Arbitrary Power; that the young men all ran after him, and honour'd him as the only man among so many thousands, who had the Courage to preserve his Liberty. Therefore when *Hermolaus* his Conspiracy came to be discover'd, the Crimes which his Enemies laid to his charge were the more easily believ'd, particularly that when the young man ask'd him, *What he should do to be the most illustrious Person on Earth*; he told him, *The readiest way was to kill him who was already so*. And that to incite him to commit the Fact, he bid him not be aw'd by his golden Bed, but remember, *Alexander* was a Man equally infirm and vulnerable as another. However none of *Hermolaus* his Accomplices, in the extremity of their Torments, made any mention of *Callisthenes* his being engag'd in the Design. Nay *Alexander* himself, in the Letters which he wrote soon after to *Craterus*, *Attalus*, and *Alcetas*, tells them, That those who were put to the Rack, confess'd they had enter'd into the Conspiracy wholly of themselves, without any

any others being privy to, or guilty of it. But yet afterwards in a Letter to *Antipater*, he accuses *Callisthenes* of the same Crime. *The young men*, says he, *were sent to death by the Macedonians, but for the Sophister*, meaning *Callisthenes*, *I will take care to punish him, with them too who sent him to me, and who harbour those in their Cities who conspire against my Life*. By which Expressions it appears, he had no very good opinion of *Aristotle*, by whom *Callisthenes* was educated upon the score of his Relation to him, being his Niece *Hero's* Son. His Death is diversly related: some say, he was hang'd by *Alexander's* Command; others, that he died of Sicknefs in Prison; but *Chares* writes, he was kept in Chains seven months after he was apprehended, on purpose that he might be proceeded against in full Council, when *Aristotle* should be present; and that being grown very fat, he died of the lowfie Disease, about the time that *Alexander* was wounded in the Countrey of the *Malli Oxydrace*; all which came to pass afterwards.

*Aristotle himself suspected.*

For to go on in order: *Demetrius* of *Corinth*, a man of a great Age, was at this time very desirous to give the King a Visit, and when he had seen him, said, *He pitied the misfortune of those Græcians,* who

*This Passage was mention'd before.*



who were so unhappy to die before they had beheld Alexander seated on the Throne of Darius. But he did not long enjoy the Effects of his Bounty to him, any otherwise, than that soon after falling sick and dying, he had a magnificent Funeral, and the Army rais'd him a Monument of Earth fourscore Cubits high, and of a vast Circumference. His Ashes were convey'd in a very rich Chariot drawn by four Horses to the Sea-side.

Alexander  
burns all his  
own and his  
Soldiers Bag-  
gage.

Alexander now intent upon his Expedition into India, took notice that his Soldiers were so charg'd with Booty, that it hindred their marching; to remedy which, at break of day, as soon as the Baggage-Waggons were laden, first he set Fire to his own, and his Friends, and then commanded those to be burnt which belong'd to the rest of the Army: An Action which in the deliberation of it seem'd more dangerous and difficult than it prov'd in the execution, with which few were dissatisfied; for most of them, as if they had been inspir'd with Zeal from above, with loud Outcries and warlike Shoutings, furnish'd one another with what was absolutely necessary, and burnt and destroy'd all that was superfluous, the sight of which redoubled Alexander's Vigor and Alacrity.

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He was now grown very severe and inexorable in punishing those who committed any Fault; for he put Menander, one of his Friends, to death, for deserting a Fortress, where he had plac'd him in Garrison, and shot Orsodates, one of the Barbarians who revolted from him, with his own Hand. At this time a Sheep happen'd to yean a Lamb, with the perfect shape and colour of a Tiara upon the Head, and Testicles on each side; which Portent Alexander so detested, that he immediately caus'd his Babylonian Priests, whom he usually carried about with him for such purposes to purifie him, and withal told his Friends, he was not so much concern'd for his own sake, as for theirs, out of an apprehension that God after his death might suffer his Empire to fall into the Hands of some degenerate, impotent Person. But this Fear was soon remov'd, by a wonderful thing that happen'd not long after, and was thought to presage better: for Proxenus, a Macedonian, who was the chief of those who look'd to the King's Furniture, as he was breaking Ground near the River Oxus, to set up the Royal Pavilion, discover'd a Spring of gross oily Liquor, which after the top was taken off, ran pure, clear Oyl, without any difference either of Taste or Smell,

He grows cruel

An odd Portent

A Spring of  
Oyl found.

ha-

having exactly the same smoothness and brightness, and that too in a Countrey where no Olives grew. The Water indeed of the River *Oxus* is said to be so fat, that it leaves a Gloss on their Skins who bathe themselves in it. Whatever might be the Cause, certain it is that *Alexander* was wonderfully pleas'd with it, as appears by his Letters to *Antipater*, where he tells him, He look'd upon it as one of the most considerable Presages that God had ever favour'd him with. The Diviners told him, It signify'd his Expedition would be glorious in the Event, but very painful, and attended with many Difficulties; for Oyl, they said, was bestow'd on Mankind by God as a Refreshment of their Labours. Nor did they judge amiss; for he expos'd himself to many Hazards in the Battels which he fought, and receiv'd very deep and dangerous Wounds, besides the mouldring away of his Army, through the unwholesomeness of the Air, and for want of necessary Provisions. But he still applied himself to surmount Fortune, and whatever oppos'd him, by his Resolution and Vertue, and thought nothing impossible to a daring, valiant man. Therefore when he besieg'd *Sisimethres*, who held an inaccessible, impregnable Rock against him, and his Souldiers began

*Sisimethres*  
his Rock taken

to despair of taking it, he ask'd *Oxyartes*, Whether *Sisimethres* was a man of Courage? who assuring him, he was the greatest Coward alive; then you tell me, said he, that the Place is our own, if the Commander of it be a Poltron: and in a little time he so terrified *Sisimethres*, that he took it without any difficulty. At an Attack which he made upon such another steep Place with some of his *Macedonian* Souldiers, he call'd to one whose Name was *Alexander*, and told him, It would become him to behave himself gallantly for his Names sake. The Youth fought bravely, and was kill'd in the Action, at which he was sensibly afflicted. Another time seeing his men march slowly and unwillingly to the Siege of a Place call'd *Nysa*, because of a deep River between them and the Town, he advanc'd before them, and standing upon the Bank, What a miserable man, said he, am I, that I have not learn'd to swim? and then was hardly dissuaded from endeavouring to pass it upon his Shield. Here after the Assault was over, the Ambassadors, who from several Towns which he had block'd up, came to submit to him, and make their Peace, were surpriz'd to find him rough, and arm'd at all Points, without any Pomp or Ceremony about him; and when his Attendants brought

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him

Alexander's  
Discourse with  
Acuphis.

him a Cushion, he made the eldest of them, nam'd *Acuphis*, take it, and sit down upon it. The old Man charm'd with his Magnanimity and Courtesie, ask'd him, *What his Countreymen should do to merit his Friendship?* I would have them, said Alexander, choose you to govern them, and send 100 of the most considerable and most worthy men among them to remain with me as Hostages: I shall govern them with more ease Sir, replied Acuphis smiling, if I send you so many of the worst, rather than the best of my Subjects.

The Extent of King *Taxiles* his Dominions in *India* was thought to be as large as *Ægypt*, abounding in good Pastures, and above all in excellent Fruits. The King himself had the reputation of a wise Man, and at his first Interview with Alexander, he spoke to him in these terms: To what purpose, said he, should we make War upon one another, if the design of your coming into these Parts, be not to rob us of our Water, or our necessary Food, which are the only things that wise men are indispensably oblig'd to fight for? As for other Riches and Possessions, as they are accounted in the eye of the World, if I am better provided of them than you, I am ready to let you share with me; but if Fortune has been more liberal to you than me, I will not decline your Favour,

yours, but accept them with all the grateful Acknowledgements that are due to a Benefactor. This Discourse pleas'd Alexander so much, that embracing him, Do you think, said he to him, your fair Speeches, and affable Behaviour, will bring you off in this Interview without fighting? No, you shall not escape so, for as to matter of Benefits, I will contend with you so far, that how obliging soever you are, you shall not have the better of me. Then receiving some Presents from him, he return'd him others of greater value, and to compleat his Bounty, gave him in Money ready coin'd 1000 Talents; at which his old Friends were exceedingly displeas'd, but it gain'd him the hearts of many of the Barbarians. The valiantest of the *Indians* now taking Pay of several Cities, undertook to defend them, and did it so bravely, that they put Alexander to a great deal of Trouble and Fatigue, till having made an Agreement with him, upon the surrender of a Place, he fell upon them as they were marching away, and put them all to the Sword. This one breach of his word was a perpetual Blemish to him, though on all other occasions he had manag'd his Wars with that Justice and Honour that became a King. Nor was he less incommoded by the *Indian* Philosophers, who

His Friends re-  
pine at his  
Bounty to  
Strangers.

His war with  
Porus.

inveigh'd bitterly against those Princes who were of his Party, and solicited the free Cities to oppose him, therefore he took several of them, and caus'd them to be hang'd.

*Alexander* in his own Letters has given us an account of his War with *Porus*: He says, The two Armies were separated by the River *Hydaspes*, on whose opposite Bank *Porus* continually kept his Elephants in order of Battel, with their Heads towards their Enemies, to guard the Passage. That he was forc'd every day to make great Noises in his Camp, and give his Men constant Alarms, to accustom them by degrees not to be afraid of the *Barbarians*. That one cold, dark Night he pass'd the River, above the Place where the Enemy lay, into a little Island, with part of his Foot, and the best of his Horse. Here there fell so violent a Shower of Rain, accompanied with Lightning, and fiery Whirlwinds, that seeing some of his Men burnt and destroy'd by the Lightning, he quitted the Island, and made over to the other side. The *Hydaspes*, now after the Storm, was so swoln and grown so rapid, as to make a Breach in the Bank, at which part of the River ran out, so that when he came to land, he found very ill standing for his Men, the

Place

He passes the  
Hydaspes.

Place being extream slippery and undermin'd, and ready to be blown up by the Currents on both sides. In this Distress *Onesicritus* tells us he was heard to say, Oh ye Athenians! to what incredible Dangers do I expose my self to merit your Praises? But to proceed, *Alexander* says here, they left their little Boats, and pass'd the Breach in their Armour up to the Breast in Water; and then he advanc'd with his Horse about 20 Furlongs before his Foot, concluding, that if the Enemy charg'd him with their Cavalry, he should be too strong for them; if with their Foot, his own would come up time enough to his Assistance. Nor did he judge amiss; for being charg'd by 1000 Horse, and 60 arm'd Chariots, which advanc'd before their main Body, he took all the Chariots, and kill'd 400 Horse upon the Place. *Porus* by this smart Execution, guessing that *Alexander* himself was gotten over, came on with his whole Army, except a Party which he left behind, to hold the rest of the *Macedonians* in Play, if they should attempt to pass the River. But *Alexander* apprehending the multitudes of the Enemy, and to avoid the shock of their Elephants, would not joyn Battel with them in Front, but dividing his Forces, attack'd their left Wing himself, and

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com-

And defeats  
Porus.

Porus his Sta-  
ture.

his Elephant.

manded *Coenus* to fall upon the right, which was perform'd with good Success. For by this means both Wings being broken, they retir'd when they found themselves press'd close, to their Elephants, and then rallying, renew'd the Fight so obstinately, that it was three hours after Noon before they were entirely defeated. This description of the Battel the Conqueror has left us in his own Epistles.

Almost all Writers agree, that *Porus* was four Cubits and an half high, and that when he was upon his Elephant, which was of the largest size, his Stature and Bulk were so answerable, that he appear'd to be but proportionably mounted. This Elephant, during the whole Battel, gave many proofs of wonderful Understanding, and a particular Care of the King, whom as long as he was strong, and in condition to fight, he defended with great Courage, repelling those who set upon him; and as soon as he perceiv'd him ready to faint, by reason of his many Wounds, and multitude of Darts that were thrown at him, to prevent his falling off, he softly kneel'd down, and then with his Probosc's gently drew every Dart out of his Body. When *Porus* was taken Prisoner, and *Alexander* ask'd him, *How he expected to be us'd?* he answer'd, *As a King*

*King ought to be*; for that expression, he said, when the same Question was put to him a second time, comprehended every thing. And *Alexander* indeed dealt very generously with him, for he not only suffer'd him to govern his own Kingdom as his Lieutenant, but added to it a large Province of some free People whom he had newly subdued, which consisted of 15 several Nations, and contain'd 5000 considerable Towns, besides abundance of Villages. Another Government three times as large as this he bestow'd on *Philip*, one of his Friends.

Some time after the Battel with *Porus*, most Authors agree, that *Bucephalus* died under cure of his Wounds, or as *Onesicritus* says, of Fatigue and Age, being 30 years old. *Alexander* was no less concern'd at his death, than if he had lost an old Companion, or an intimate Friend, and built a City, which he nam'd *Bucephalia*, in memory of him, on the Bank of the River *Hydaspes*, and another in remembrance of his beloved favourite Dog *Peritas*, as *Sotion* assures us, he was inform'd by *Potamon* of *Lesbos*.

But this last Combat with *Porus* took off the edge of the *Macedonians* Courage, and hindred their farther progress in *India*. For having with much ado defeated him,

B b 4

who

A city built in  
memory of Bu-  
cephalus.

The Macedonians refuse to pass the Ganges.

which grieves Alexander.

who brought but 20000 Foot, and 2000 Horse into the Field, they thought they had Reason to oppose *Alexander's* Design, of obliging them to pass the *Ganges* too, which they were told was 4 miles over, and an 100 fathom deep, and the Banks on the farther side cover'd with multitudes of Enemies. For they had intelligence that the Kings of the *Gandaritans* and *Prasians* expected them there with 80000 Horse, 200000 Foot, 8000 arm'd Chariots, and 6000 fighting Elephants. Nor was this a false, vain Report, spread on purpose to discourage them; for *Androcottus*, who not long after reign'd in those Parts, made a Present of 500 Elephants at once to *Seleucus*, and with an Army of 600000 men subdued all *India*. *Alexander* at first was so griev'd and enrag'd at his mens Reluctancy, that he shut himself up in his Tent, and in a desponding manner threw himself upon the Ground, declaring, if they would not pass the *Ganges*, he ow'd them no thanks for any thing they had hitherto done, and that to retreat now, was plainly to confess himself vanquish'd. But at last the prudent Remonstrances and Perswasions of his Friends, who inform'd him truly how the Case stood, and the Tears and Lamentations of his Souldiers, who in a

sup.

suppliant manner crowded about the entrance of his Tent, prevail'd with him to think of returning. Yet before he decamp'd, he would needs impose upon Posterity, by leaving behind him some fictitious Monuments of his Glory; such as Arms of an extraordinary bigness, and Mangers for Horses, with Bits of Bridles above the usual size, which he set up, and distributed in several Places. He erected Altars also to the Gods, which the Kings of the *Prasians* even in our Time highly reverence, and often pass the River to sacrifice upon them after the *Gracian* manner. *Androcottus*, then a Youth, saw *Alexander* there, and has often afterwards been heard to say, That he mis'd but little of making himself Master of those Countreys; their King, who then reign'd, was so hated and despis'd for the viciousness of his Life, and the meanness of his Extraction.

What care he takes to deceive Posterity

*Alexander* decamping from hence, had a mind to see the Ocean; to which purpose he caus'd a great many Vessels with Oars, and small Boats to be built, in which he fell gently down the Rivers, making merr'y as he went, and order'd it so, that his Navigation was neither unprofitable nor unactive; for by making several Descents, he took in the fortifi'd Towns, and con-

His Voyage down the Rivers.

His Danger among the Mallians.

frequently the Countrey on both sides. But at the siege of a City of the *Mallians*, who are the valiantest People of *India*, he ran great danger of his Life; for having beaten off the Defendants with showers of Arrows, he was the first man that mounted the Wall by a scaling Ladder, which as soon as he was up, broke, and left him almost alone expos'd to the Darts, which the *Barbarians* threw at him in great numbers from below. In this Distress, turning himself as well as he could, he leap'd down in the midst of his Enemies, and had the good Fortune to light upon his Feet. The brightness and clattering of his Armour, when he came to the Ground, made the *Barbarians* think, they saw Rays of Light, or some Phantasm playing before his Body, which frighted them so at first, that they ran away, and dispers'd themselves, till seeing him seconded but by two of his Guards, they fell upon him Hand to Hand, and though he defended himself very bravely, wounded him through his Armour with their Swords and Spears. One who stood farther off, drew a Bow with such just Strength, that the Arrow finding its way through his Cuirass, stuck in his Ribs under the Breast. This Stroke was so violent, that it made him give back, and set

ONE

one Knee to the Ground, which as soon as he that shot him, perceiv'd, he came up to him with his drawn Scimitar, thinking to dispatch him, and had done it, if *Peucestes* and *Limneus* had not interpos'd, who were both wounded, *Limneus* mortally, but *Peucestes* stood his Ground, while *Alexander* kill'd the *Barbarian*. But this did not free him from Danger; for besides many other Wounds, at last he receiv'd so weighty a stroke of a Club upon his Neck, that he was forc'd to lean his Body against the Wall, yet still look'd undauntedly upon the Enemy. When he was reduc'd to this Extremity, the *Macedonians* breaking in to his Assistance, very opportunely took him up, just as he was fainting away, having lost all sense of what was done near him, and convey'd him to his Tent, upon which it was presently reported all over the Camp that he was dead. But when they had with great difficulty and pains saw'd out the Shaft of the Arrow which was of Wood, and so with much ado got off his Cuirass, they came to cut the Head of it, which was three fingers broad, and four long, and stuck fast in the Bone. During the Operation, he was taken with almost mortal Swoonings, but when it was out, he came to himself again. Yet though all

He is desperately wounded.

Dan-

Danger was past, he continued very weak, and confin'd himself a great while to a regular Diet, and the method of his Cure, till one day hearing the *Macedonians* were so desirous to see him, that they were ready to mutiny, he put on his Robe, and when he had shew'd himself to them, and sacrific'd to the Gods, without more delay he went on board again, and as he coasted along, subdued a great deal of the Countrey on both sides, and took in several considerable Cities.

*His Questions  
to the Indian  
Philosophers,  
with their An-  
swers.*

In this Voyage he took 10 of the *Indian* Philosophers Prisoners, who had been most active in perswading *Sabbas* to rebel, and besides that had done the *Macedonians* abundance of Mischiefs. These men because they go stark naked, are call'd *Gymnosophists*, and are reputed to be extremely sharp and succinct in their Answers to whatsoever is propounded to them, which he made tryal of, by putting difficult Questions to them, withal letting them know, that those whose Answers were not pertinent, should be put to death, of which he made the eldest of them Judge. The first being ask'd, *Which he thought most numerous, the Dead or the Living?* Answer'd, *The Living, because those who are dead, are not at all.* Of the 2d. he desir'd to know, *Whether the Sea or Land*  
pro-

*produc'd the largest Beasts?* Who told him, *The Land, for the Sea was but a part of it.* His Question to the 3d. was, *Which was the craftiest Animal?* That, said he, *which Mankind is not yet acquainted with.* He bid the 4th. tell him, *What Arguments he us'd to Sabbas to perswade him to revolt?* No other, said he, *than that he should live with Honour, or perish in the Attempt.* Of the 5th. he ask'd, *Which was eldest, Night or Day?* The Philosopher reply'd, *Day was eldest, by one day at least:* but perceiving *Alexander* not well satisfied with that Account, he added, *That he ought not to wonder, if strange Questions had as odd Answers made to them.* Then he went on, and enquir'd of the next, *What a man should do to be exceedingly belov'd?* He must be very pow'rful, said he, *without making himself too much fear'd.* The Answer of the 7th. to his Question, *How a Man might be a God?* was, *If he could do that which was impossible for men to perform.* The 8th. told him, *Life was stronger than Death, because it supported so many Miseries.* And the last being ask'd, *How long he thought it decent for a man to live?* said, *Till Death appear'd more desirable than Life.* Then *Alexander* turn'd to him whom he had made Judge, and commanded him to give Sentence. *All that I can determine,*  
said



said he, *is, that they have every one answer'd worse than another. No, that they have not,* said the King, *but however thou shalt die first, because thou judgest so ill. You will not deal so with me, Sir;* reply'd the Gymnosophist, *if you intend to be as good as your word, which was, that he should die first who answer'd worst, which I have not done, for you have not ask'd me any Question.* In conclusion, he gave them Presents, and dismiss'd them. But to those who were in greatest Reputation among them, and liv'd a private, quiet Life, he sent Onesicritus, one of Diogenes the Cynicks Disciples, desiring them to come to him. Calanus very arrogantly and rudely commanded him to strip himself, and hear what he said, naked, otherwise he would not speak a word to him, though he came from Jupiter himself. But Dandamis receiv'd him with more Civility, and hearing him discourse of Socrates, Pythagoras, and Diogenes, told him, *He thought them men of great Parts, and to have err'd in nothing so much, as in having too great Respect for the Laws and Constitutions of their Country.* Others say, he only ask'd him the Reason, *Why Alexander undertook so long a Voyage to come into those Parts?* Taxiles perswaded Calanus to wait upon Alexander; his proper Name was Sphines, but because he

The Arrogance  
of Calanus, a  
Gymnosophist

was

was wont to say *Cale*, which in the Indian Tongue signifies, *God save you*, when he saluted those he met with any where, the Græcians call'd him *Calanus*. He is said to have shewn Alexander an instructive Emblem of Government, which was this: He threw a dry shrivel'd Hide upon the Ground, and trod upon the edge of it; the Skin when it was press'd in one place, still rose up in another whereforever he trod round about it, till he set his foot in the middle, which made all the parts lye even and quiet. The meaning of this Similitude was, That he ought to reside most in the middle and Heart of his Empire, and not spend too much time on the Borders of it.

His Emblem of  
Government.

His Voyage down the Rivers took up 7 Months time, and when he came to the Sea, he sail'd to an Island which he call'd *Scillustis*, others *Pfaltucis*, where going ashore, he sacrific'd, and made what Observations he could of the Nature of the Sea, and the Sea-coast. Then having besought the Gods, that no other Man might ever go beyond the Pounds of this Expedition, he order'd his Fleet, of which he made *Nearchus* Admiral, and *Onesicritus* Pilot, to sail round about, leaving India on the right hand, and return'd himself by Land through the Countrey of the

Alexander's  
Prayer when  
he came to the  
Sea.

Ori-

What loss he  
sustain'd in his  
March back.

*Orites*, where he was reduc'd to great Straits for want of Provisions, and lost abundance of Men, so that of an Army of 120000 Foot, and 15000 Horse, he scarce brought back above a 4th. part out of *India*, they were so diminish'd by Diseases, ill Diet, and the scorching Heats, but most by Famine. For their March was through an uncultivated Countrey, whose Inhabitants far'd hardly, and had none but a little ill Breed of Sheep, whose Flesh was rank and unfavoury, by reason of their continual feeding upon Sea-fish.

After 60 days March he came into *Gedrosia*, where he found great Plenty of all things, which the neighbouring Kings, and Governours of Provinces, hearing of his Approach, had taken care to provide. From hence when he had re-enforc'd his Army, he continued his March through *Carmania*, feasting all the way for 7 days together. He with his most intimate Friends banqueted and revell'd night and day, upon a Stage erected on a lofty, conspicuous Scaffold, which with a slow, majestick Pace, was drawn by 8 Horses. This was follow'd by a great many Chariots, whereof some were cover'd with Tapestry of Purple, and other Colours, and some with green Boughs, which were supplied with fresh as they wither'd, and in

His riotous  
Progress  
through Car-  
mania.

in them the rest of his Friends and Commanders drinking, and crown'd with Garlands of Flowers. Here was now no Target, or Helmet, no Spear, to be seen, instead of Armour, the Souldiers handled nothing but Cups and Goblets, and drinking Bowls of *Thericles* his Make, which they dip'd into larger Vessels, and drank Healths to one another, some sitting close to it, others as they went along. All Places resounded with Musick of Pipes and Flutes, with Odes and Songs, and Women dancing as in the Rites of *Bacchus*; for this disorderly wandring March, besides the drinking part of it, was accompanied with all the Loosness and Insolence of *Bacchanals*, as much as if the God himself had been there to countenance and carry on the Debauch. As soon as he came to the Royal Palace of *Gedrosia*, he again refresh'd and feasted his Army, and one day after he had drank pretty hard, (it is said) went to see a Prize of Dancing contended for, in which his Minion *Bagoas*, who defraid the expence of it, having the Victory, cross'd the Theater in his dancing Habit, and sat down close by him, which so pleas'd the *Macedonians*, that they made loud Acclamations for him to kiss *Bagoas*, and never left clapping their Hands and shouting, till *Alexander* took

A Prize of  
Dancing.

Won by Bagoas

took him about the Neck, and kiss'd him.

Alexander's  
great Prepara-  
tions for a Voy-  
age to Sea.

Here his Admiral *Nearchus* came to him, and delighted him so with the Relation of his Voyage, that he resolv'd himself to sail out of the mouth of *Euphrates* with a great Fleet, with which he design'd to go round by *Arabia* and *Lybia*, and so by *Hercules his Pillars* into the *Mediterranean*; in order to which, he directed all sorts of Vessels to be built at *Thapsacus*, and made great provision every where of Sea-men and Pilots. But it fell out unluckily for this Enterprize, that the Report of the Difficulties he went through in his *Indian Expedition*, the danger of his Person among the *Mallians*, the loss of a considerable part of his Forces, and the general opinion that he would hardly return in safety, occasion'd the Revolt of many conquer'd Nations, and made the Commanders and Lieutenants in several Provinces, presume to oppress the People with extream Injustice, Avarice, and Insolence. So that there seem'd to be an universal fluctuation and disposition to Change. *Olympias* and *Cleopatra* rais'd a Faction against *Antipater*, and shar'd his Government between them, *Olympias* seizing upon *Epirus*, and *Cleopatra* upon *Macedonia*. When *Alexander*

How kindred.

was

was told of it, he said, *His Mother had made the best choice, for the Macedonians would never endure to be rul'd by a Woman*. Upon this he dispatch'd *Nearchus* again to the Fleet, intending to carry the War into the maritime Provinces, and as he march'd that way himself, he punish'd those Commanders who had not behav'd themselves well, particularly *Oxyartes*, one of *Abulites his Sons*, whom he kill'd with his own hand, thrusting him through the Body with his Spear. And when *Abulites*, instead of the necessary Provisions which he ought to have furnish'd, brought him 3000 Talents in Money ready coin'd, he order'd it to be thrown to his Horses, who not meddling with it; *What good does this Provision do me*, said he to him? and sent him away to Prison.

When he came into *Persia*, he distributed Money among the Women, as <sup>A Custom of the Kings of Persia.</sup> their own Kings were wont to do, who as often as they came thither, gave every one of them a Crown, for which Reason some of them came but seldom, and *Darius* was so sordidly covetous, that to avoid this Expence, he never visited *Persia* all his Life, though it was his native Country.

Then finding *Cyrus his Sepulcher* open'd, <sup>*Cyrus Sepulcher rifled.*</sup> and rifled, he put *Polymachus* who did it

to death. though he was a man of Quality, and born at *Pella* in *Macedonia*: and after he had read the Inscription, he caus'd it to be cut again below the old one in Greek Characters; the words were these: *O Man, whosoever thou art, and from whence soever thou comest, (for I know thou wilt come) I am Cyrus, the Founder of the Persian Empire, do not envy me this little quantity of Earth which covers my Body.* The reading of this sensibly touch'd *Alexander*, causing him to reflect seriously upon the incertainty and mutability of humane Affairs. At the same time *Calanus* having been a little while troubled with a Loosness, requested he might have a Funeral Pile erected, to which he came on Horseback, and after he had said some Prayers, and sprinkled himself, and cut off some of his Hair, to throw into the Fire, as was usual on such occasions; before he ascended it, he embrac'd and took leave of the *Macedonians* who stood by, desiring them to pass that day in Mirth and good Fellowship with their King, whom in a little time, he said, he doubted not but to see again at *Babylon*. Having thus said, he lay down, and covering himself, he stirr'd not when the Fire came near him, but continued still in the same posture as at first, and so sacrific'd himself.

*Alexander*  
mov'd at the  
Inscription.

*Calanus* burns  
himself.

himself, as it was the ancient Custom of the Philosophers in those Countreys to do. The same thing was done long after by another *Indian*, who came with *Cæsar* to *Athens*, where they still shew you the *Indians* Monument. At his return from the Funeral Pile, *Alexander* invited a great many of his Friends and principal Officers to Supper, and propos'd a Drinking-match, in which the Victor should be crown'd. *Promachus* drank 18 Quarts of Wine, and won the Prize which weigh'd a Talent, from them all; but he surviv'd his Victory but three days, and was follow'd, as *Chares* says, by 41 more, who died of the same Debauch, by reason of the severe Frost which happen'd at that time.

*A drinking*  
*Match.*

At *Susa* he married *Darius* his Daughter *Statira*, and celebrated the Nuptials of his Friends, bestowing the noblest of the *Persian* Ladies upon the worthiest of them, withal making a very splendid Entertainment for all the *Macedonians* who were married before; at which, it is reported, there were no less than 9000 Guests, to each of whom he gave a golden Cup, for them to use in their Libations of Wine to the Honour of the Gods. Not to mention other Instances of his wonderful Magnificence, he paid the Debts of his

*Alexander*  
*marries* *Statira*, *Darius* his  
*Daughter.*

He pays the  
Debts of his  
Army.

his whole Army, which amounted to 9870 Talents. But there was one *Antigenes*, who had lost one of his Eyes, though he ow'd nothing, got his Name set down in the List of those who were in Debt, and bringing one who pretended to be his Creditor, to the Banquiers Table, receiv'd the Money. But when the Cheat was found out, the King was so incens'd at it, that he banish'd him from Court, and took away his Command, though he was an excellent Souldier, and a man of great Courage. For when he was but a Youth, and serv'd under *Philip* at the Siege of *Perinthus*, where he was wounded in the Eye by an Arrow shot out of an Engine, he would neither let the Arrow be taken out, or be perswaded to quit the Field, till he had bravely repuls'd the Enemy, and forc'd them to retire into the Town. A Man of his Spirit was not able to support such a Disgrace with any Patience, and certainly Grief and Despair would have made him kill himself, but that the King fearing it, not only pardon'd him, but let him also enjoy the Benefit of his Deceit.

Forgives *Antigenes* his Fraud

His Seminary  
of Souldiers.

The 30000 Boys which he left behind him to be taught the use of their Arms, and military Discipline, were so improv'd at his return both in Strength and Beauty,  
and

and perform'd their Exercises with such Dexterity, and wonderful Agility, that he was extreemly pleas'd with them; which griev'd the *Macedonians*, and made them fear he would have the less Esteem for them. And when he was sending away the infirm and main'd Souldiers to Sea, they said, they were unjustly and infamously dealt with, after they were worn out in his Service upon all occasions, now to be turn'd away with Disgrace, and sent home into their Countrey among their Friends and Relations, in a worse condition than when they came out; therefore they desir'd him one and all to dismiss them, and to account his *Macedonians* uselefs, now he was so well furnish'd with dancing Boys, with whom, if he pleas'd, he might go on, and conquer the World. These Speeches so enrag'd *Alexander*, that after he had given them a great deal of reproachful Language in his Passion, he drave them away, and committed the Watch to *Persians*, out of whom he chose his Life-guard, and Serjeants at Arms. When the *Macedonians* saw him attended by these men, and themselves excluded, and shamefully discour'd, their high Spirits fell, and upon Discourse with one another, they found that Jealousie and Rage had almost dis-

The *Macedonians* discontented.

he takes a  
Guard of *Persians*.

tracted them. But at last coming to themselves again, they went without their Arms, almost naked, crying and weeping to offer themselves at his Tent, and desir'd him to deal with them as their Baseness and Ingratitude deserv'd. However this would not prevail; for though his Anger was already something mollified, yet he would not admit them into his presence nor would they stir from thence, but continued two days and nights before his Tent, bewailing themselves, and imploring him their Sovereign Lord to have compassion on them. But the third day he came out to them, and seeing them very humble and penitent, he wept himself a great while, and after a gentle Reproof spoke kindly to them, and dismiss'd those who were unserviceable, with magnificent Rewards: and this Recommendation to *Antipater*; that when they came into *Greece*, at all publick Shews, and in the Theaters, they should sit on the best and foremost Seats, crown'd with Chaplets of Flowers, and order'd the Children of those who had lost their Lives in his Service, to have their Fathers Pay continued to them.

When he came to *Ecbatana* in *Media*, and had dispatch'd his most urgent Affairs, he fell to divert himself again with

The Macedonians submit.

The old and disabled dismiss'd with Rewards.

Spectacles, and publick Entertainments, to carry on which, he had a Supply of 3000 Actors newly arriv'd out of *Greece*. 3000 Actors. But they were soon interrupted by *Hephestion's* falling sick of a Fever, in which being a young Man, and a Souldier too, he could not confine himself to so exact a Diet as was necessary; for whilst his Physician *Glaukus* was gone to the Theater, he eat a boyl'd Cock for his Dinner, and drank a large draught of Wine, upon which he grew worse, and died in a few days. At this Misfortune *Alexander* was so beyond all Reason transported, that to express his Sorrow, he presently order'd the Manes and Tails of all his Horses and Mules to be cut, and threw down the Battlements of the neighbouring Cities. The poor Physician he crucified, and forbade playing on the Flute, or any other musical Instrument, in the Camp a great while, till the Oracle of *Jupiter Ammon* enjoin'd him to honour *Hephestion*, and sacrifice to him as to an Heroe. Then seeking to alleviate his Grief in War, he set out as if he were to go a Man hunting, for he fell upon the *Cusseans*, and put the whole Nation to the Sword, not sparing so much as the Children. This was call'd a Sacrifice to *Hephestion's* Ghost. In his Sepulcher, and Monument, and the

*Hephestion's Death.*

A whole Nation sacrific'd to him.

the adorning of them, he intended to bestow 10000 Talents; and that the excellency of the Artist, and the curiosity of the Workmanship, might go beyond the expence it self, he rather chose to imploy *Stasicles* than any other, because he always promis'd something very bold, and lofty, and magnificent in his Designs. For in *Phoenicia* before he had told him, That of all the Mountains he knew, that of *Atlas* in *Libya*, was the most capable of being contriv'd to represent the Shape and Lineaments of a Man. That if he pleas'd to command him, he would make it the noblest and most durable Statue in the World, which in its left Hand should hold a City of 10000 Inhabitants, and out of its right should pour a copious River into the Sea. Though *Alexander* declin'd this Project, yet now he spent a great deal of time with Workmen, to invent and contrive others far more absurd and expensive.

As he was upon his way to *Babylon*, *Nearchus*, who had sail'd back out of the Ocean by the mouth of the River *Euphrates*, came to tell him, he had met with some *Chaldean* Diviners who warn'd him not to go thither. But *Alexander* slighted this Advertisement, and went on, and when he came near the Walls of the Place,

*Stasicles* his  
extravagant  
design of a Statue.

*Alexander*  
warn'd not to  
go to *Babylon*.

Place, he saw a great many Crows fighting with one another, whereof some fell down just by him. After this being privately inform'd, that *Apollodorus* the Governour of *Babylon* had sacrific'd to know what would become of him; he sent for *Pythagoras* the Soothsayer, who not denying the thing, he ask'd him, In what condition he found the Victim? and when he told him, The Liver was defective in its Lobe; a great Presage indeed, said *Alexander*! However he offer'd *Pythagoras* no Injury, but was much troubled that he had neglected *Nearchus* his Advice, and therefore staid a great while without the Town, removing his Tent from Place to Place, and sailing up and down the *Euphrates*. Besides this, he was disturb'd by many other Prodigies. A tame Ass fell upon the biggest and handsomest Lion that he kept, and kick'd him to death. And one day undressing himself to be anointed, and to play at Ball, when he was putting his Cloaths on again, the young men who play'd with him, perceiv'd a Man clad in the King's Robes, with the Diadem upon his Head, sitting silently upon his Throne. They ask'd him, Who he was? To which he gave no Answer a good while, till at last with much ado coming to himself, he told them,

Several Prej-  
gts of his Death.

them, His Name was *Dyonisius* ; that he was of *Messinia* ; that for some Crime whereof he was accus'd, he was brought thither from the Sea side, and had been kept long in Prison ; that *Scrapis* appear'd to him, had freed him from his Chains, conducted him to that Place, and commanded him to put on the King's Robe and Diadem, and to sit where they found him, and to say nothing. *Alexander* when he heard this, by the direction of his Soothsayers put the Fellow to death, but from thenceforth desponded, and grew diffident of the Protection and Assistance of the Gods, and besides very suspicious of his Friends. His greatest apprehension was of *Antipater*, and his Sons, one of whom, *Tollus*, was his chief Cup-bearer, the other nam'd *Cassander*, was newly arriv'd out of *Greece*, and being bred up in the freedom of his Countrey, the first time he saw some of the *Barbarians* adore the King, could not forbear laughing at it aloud ; which so incens'd *Alexander*, that he took him by the Hair with both Hands, and violently knock'd his Head against the Wall. Another time *Cassander* would have said something in defence of *Antipater*, to those who accus'd him ; but *Alexander* interrupting him, *What is't you say ? Do you think, People*

*Alexander distrusts the Gods*

ple if they had receiv'd no Injury, would come such a Journey only to calumniate your Father ? To which when *Cassander* replied, That this very thing was a great evidence of their Calumny ; *Alexander* smil'd and said, Those were some of *Aristotle's* Sophisms, which would serve equally on both sides ; and added, That both he and his Father should be severely punish'd, if they were found guilty of the least Injustice towards those who complain'd ; which upon the whole made such a deep impression of Fear in *Cassander's* Mind, that long after when he was King of *Macedonia*, and Master of *Greece*, as he was walking up and down at *Delphos*, and looking on the Statues, at the sight of that of *Alexander*, he was suddenly struck with Horrour, and shook all over, his Eyes rowl'd, his Head grew dizzy, and he had much ado to recover himself.

*His Usage of Cassander.*

*A wonderful Effect of Fear.*

When once *Alexander* gave way to Superstition, his Mind grew so disturb'd and timorous, that if the least unusual or extraordinary thing happen'd, he would needs have it thought a Prodigy, or a Presage, and his Court was throng'd with Diviners and Priests, whose business was to sacrifice, and purifie, and foretel the future. So horrid a thing is Incredulity, and Contempt of the Gods on one hand,



The nature of  
Superstition.

hand, and no less horrid is Superstition on the other, which like Water always creeping on the Ground, invades us with servile Fear and Folly, as it did now *Alexander* himself. But upon some Answers which were brought him from the Oracle concerning *Hephestion*, he laid aside his Sorrow, and fell again to Sacrificing, and Drinking; and having given *Nearchus* a splendid Entertainment, after he had bath'd, as was his Custom, just as he was going to Bed, at *Medius* his Request he went to Supper with him. Here he drank all that night and the next day to such excess, as put him into a Fever, which seiz'd him, not as some write, after he had drank of *Hercules* his Bowl, nor was he taken with a sudden pain in his Back, as if he had been struck with a Lance: for these are the Inventions of some Authors, who thought it became them to make the conclusion of so great an Action as tragical and moving as they could. *Aristobolus* tells us, That in the rage of his Fever, and a violent Thirst, he took a draught of Wine, upon which he fell into a Frenzy, and died the 30<sup>th</sup>. of *June*. But in his Journals we have this account of his Sickness, That the 18<sup>th</sup>. of *June*, by reason of his Illness, he lay in his Bathing-room where it first seiz'd

Alexander  
falls sick after  
a great De-  
bauch.

A Diary of his  
Sickness.

seiz'd him; that when he had bath'd, he remov'd into his Chamber, and spent that day at Dice with *Medius*. In the evening having wash'd and sacrific'd, he eat with a good Stomach, and had his Fever that night. The 20<sup>th</sup>. after the usual Sacrifices and Bathing, he kept his Bed in the same Room, and heard *Nearchus* his Relation of his Voyage, and the Observations he had made of the Ocean. The 21<sup>st</sup>. he pass'd in the same manner, his Fever still encreasing, and had a very ill night of it. The next day he had a severe Fit, and caus'd himself to be remov'd, and his Bed set by the great Bath, and then discours'd with his principal Officers about filling up the vacant Charges in the Army, with men of tryed Valour and Experience. The 22<sup>nd</sup>. being much worse, he was carried out to assist at the Sacrifices, and gave order that his chief Commanders should wait within the Court, whilst the Colonels and Captains kept Watch without doors. The 25<sup>th</sup>. he was remov'd to his Palace on the other side the River, where he slept a little, but his Fever abated not, and when the Commanders came into his Chamber, he was speechless, and continued so the following day. Then the *Macedonians* supposing he was dead, came with great Clamours

He hears his  
Admiral relate  
his Voyage.

The Macedonians admitted to see him.

to the Gates, and menac'd his Friends so, that they were forc'd to admit them, and let them all pass through unarm'd along by his Bed-side. The same day *Python* and *Seleucus* being sent to *Scrapis* his Temple, to enquire if they should bring *Alexander* thither, were answer'd by the God, that they should not remove him. The 28<sup>th</sup>. in the evening he died. This account is most of it word for word, as it is written in his own Diary.

His Death.

Not without suspicion of Poyson.

At that time no body had any suspicion of his being poyson'd; but upon a discovery made six years after, they say, *Olympias* put many to death, and threw abroad the Ashes of *Jollas*, who was dead, as if he had given it him. But those who affirm *Aristotle* counsell'd *Antipater* to do it, and that by his means wholly the Poyson was brought, produce one *Agnothemis* for their Author, who heard King *Antigonus* speak of it, and tell us, that the Poyson was Water, deadly cold as Ice, distilling from a Rock in the Territory of *Nonacris*, which they gather'd like a thin Dew, and kept in an Asses Hoof; for it was so very cold and penetrating, that no other Vessel would hold it. However most are of opinion that all this is false, no slight evidence of which is, that during the Dissentions among the Commanders, which last-

lasted a great many days, the Body continued clear and fresh, without any sign of such Taint or Corruption, though it lay neglected in a close, sultry place. *which is contradicted.*

*Roxana* who was now with Child, and upon that account much honour'd by the *Macedonians*, being jealous of *Statira*, sent for her by a counterfeit Letter, as if *Alexander* had been still alive; and when she had her in her power, kill'd her and her Sister, and threw their Bodies into a Well, which they fill'd up with Earth, not without the privity and assistance of *Perdiccas*, who at this time, under the shelter of *Arideus*, whom he carried about with him for his own security, bore the greatest sway of any. *Arideus* himself, who was *Philip's* Son, by one *Philinna*, an obscure common Strumpet, was a man of weak Parts, by reason of his Indisposition of Body, which was neither natural to him, nor contracted of it self; for in his Childhood he was quick-witted, and hopeful enough, but caus'd by Drinks that *Olympias* gave him, which not only impair'd his Health, but weakned his Understanding.

The Death of Statira.

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T H E

C. IVLIVS CAESAR.



THE  
LIFE  
OF  
C. J. CÆSAR.

English'd from the Greek.

By Thomas Allen M. D.

AS soon as Sylla had gotten the powers of Rome into his own Hands, he endeavour'd to part *Cornelia* the Daughter of *Cinna* (who had been formerly the sole Governor) from *Cæsar* who was her Husband; but finding himself unable either by hopes or fear to compass his design, he confiscated her

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*Murchers fecit*

her Dowry. Now the reason why *Cæsar* hated *Sylla* was his alliance to *Marius*: for *Marius* the elder married *Julia*, who was *Cæsar*'s Aunt by the Father's side, and had by her the younger *Marius*, who by that means was *Cæsar*'s Cousin-german. And though among the multitude of those whom *Sylla* put to death, or through the multiplicity of other affairs, *Cæsar* was overlookt, yet he cou'd not be satisfied with such security, but being ambitious of the Priesthood, went and solicited the people, whilst he was yet a very Boy. *Sylla* opposed him under hand, and frustrated his expectations. Afterward *Sylla* consulted with some of his creatures, how to take *Cæsar* off; and when they told him he had no reason to fear such a raw Boy so much as to kill him, he reply'd upon them, that they wanted Eyes, if they did not see a great many *Marius*'s in that Boy. When this news came to *Cæsar*, he absconded himself for a great while in the Country of the *Sabines*, sometimes at one place and sometimes at another. But it fell out one night, as he was removing his Lodging upon the account of his health, he lit in to the Hands of *Sylla*'s Soldiers, who made a strict search in all those parts, and took as many as they found had made that

that place their refuge. But *Cæsar* gave *Cornelius*, their Captain, a bribe of two Talents to let him go; and was no sooner dismissed, but he took Shipping, and sail'd into *Bithynia*, to King *Nicomedes*. With whom when he had spent some small time, he put to Sea again in order to his return, but was taken, in his passage, near the Island *Pharmacusa*, by a company of Pirates, who, with their vast numbers of great and small Vessels, had made themselves Masters of that Sea. When they first took him, they demanded of him twenty Talents for his Ransom; but he laugh'd at 'em for not knowing what a Captive they had gotten, and of his own accord promis'd to give 'em fifty. And presently away he sent so many of his Servants to several Cities to raise money, that he was left alone, even among a Crew of *Cilicians*, that are the greatest Villains upon Earth, saving that he had with him one Friend and two Servants. And yet those Rogues were so contemptible to him, that, whensoever he had a mind to repose himself, he wou'd send to 'em and command Silence. Nay so great was his assurance, that for the space of eight and thirty days he play'd at all Games, and us'd all exercises among 'em as freely, as if he had not

been their Prisoner, but their Prince. Besides, he wrote Verses and Orations, and made them come to the Rehearsal, and those that did not admire them as much as he thought fit, he call'd, to their faces, ignorant and barbarous Fools, and oftentimes in raillery wou'd threaten to hang'em. At which they were well pleased, and attributed all his freedom of Speech to a kind of simplicity and youthful humour. As soon as his ransom came from *Miletus*, and he, by paying it, was discharg'd, he immediately mann'd a competent number of Ships from the *Milesian* Coast to engage the Pirates; whom he surpris'd as they were yet at Anchor under the same Island, and took most of them. Their mony he made his Prize, but their persons he carried to *Pergamus*; where having secured them in Prison, he went himself to *Junius* who was then Governor of *Asia*, to whom it belong'd, as *Prætor*, to punish all Captives. *Junius* looking sharp upon the mony (for it was no inconsiderable Sum) said, *He wou'd consider what to do with the Captives at his leisure*; upon which *Cæsar* took his leave and went for *Pergamus*, where he publicly hang'd and crucified all the Pirates, as he had often said he wou'd in the Island, though they thought then he was

in jest. In the mean time *Sylla's* power began to decrease, and *Cæsar's* Friends at *Rome* wou'd needs have him home again; but he sail'd to *Rhodes*, that he might enter himself in the School of *Apollonius*, the Son of *Molon*, who was an excellent Rhetorician, seem'd to be a very good Man, and was *Cicero's* Master at that time. 'Tis said of him, that he was born a Politician and an Orator, and improved his natural parts with industry, to such a degree, as that without all dispute he justly had the second place among all the eloquent Men in his time. He wou'd not have the first place, but left it for some other; not because he himself was idle, but that he would rather have the preference in Authority, and martial affairs; not caring to arrive at such a pitch of Eloquence to which his nature led him, that he might have the more leisure for expeditions and publick business, which at length made him Emperor of *Rome*. Upon this score afterwards in an Oration of his by way of answer to *Cicero*, who wrote in praise of *Cato*, he makes an Apology for himself, and desires his Readers, that they wou'd not compare the rough style of a Soldier with the smooth Eloquence of a polite Orator, that employ'd a great part of his time in the

study and the practice of it. When he came to *Rome*, he accused *Dolabella* for his ill management of the Province, which he had under him, and many of the Greek Cities came in to witness for him. But notwithstanding their testimony, *Dolabella* was acquitted. And *Cæsar* being willing to make the *Grecians* some sort of amends for their kindness to him, he was their Advocate, and undertook their cause, when they prosecuted *P. Antonius* for bribery before *M. Lucullus* who was *Prætor* of *Macedonia*. And so far did he prevail against him, that *Antonius* was fain to appeal to the Tribunes of the People at *Rome*, alledging, that he was under a disadvantage whilst he contended with *Grecians* in their own Country. At *Rome* there appeared a great deal of beauty in the Eloquence of his acute Pleadings, nor did he win a less share of the peoples affection by his Affability, and good Conversation, as being far more courteous, than could be expected from one of his Age. He had a Reputation which increased insensibly from the Table and the House he kept, beside the splendor of his other Equipage, that promoted his credit with the people. Which when his Enemies first saw, they were of opinion, that when his money was gone, the

the peoples kindness would not stay long behind, and so neglected him, whilst he grew great and popular among the Commons. At last, too late, they were sensible of his power when it was almost irresistible, and tended manifestly to an universal change, and then they confessed, That nothing ought to be accounted so inconsiderable a beginning of any matter, but that continuance may quickly magnify it, and the thing it self grow unavoidable by being despised. The first that seems to have suspected him, and fear'd his calm management of Affairs as much as a wise Mariner does serene Weather at Sea, when it but flatters the Sailer just before a Storm, was *Cicero*, who well perceived the craft and artifice of his behaviour through the veil of familiarity and good humour under which it was hidden, and said, *That in all his other designs, and actions, he plainly discovered a Tyrannical Genius; but when I see, says he, His hair lye so neatly combed, and him scratching his Head with one Finger, I cannot imagine that such a Man can conceive so much evil in his mind, as to subvert the Roman State.* But of these things hereafter. The first demonstration of the peoples kindness to him, was, when he stood for Tribune of the Army, that is,

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to be Captain of a thousand Foot, and carried it against *C. Popilius* who was his competitor. But the second and more conspicuous instance was, when he made a Funeral Oration in praise of *Marius's* Wife *Julia*, who was his Aunt, publickly in the Market-place, and was so bold as to expose to publick view, at that time, the Images of *Marius*, which were never seen till then, since *Sylla* was Governor, because he and all his adherents were look'd upon as Enemies to the Commonwealth. For when some Men murmur'd and exclaimed against him for it, the people on the other side set up a shouting, and shew'd by their applause how highly they approved of and admired him for bringing back again into their City, even from the grave, the honour of *Marius*, which for so long a time had been buried. Now it was the custom at *Rome* to make Funeral Orations for old Women, but for the younger sort it was not, and therefore *Cæsar* was the first, that made a Funeral Speech in commendation of his own Wife, who dy'd young. This made him more beloved, and he by this means so reconciled the people to him, that they loved him out of mere compassion for his tenderness and good nature. When he

had

had buried his Wife, he went into *Spain* as *Questor*, under *Antistius Votus*, who was *Prætor*; a person, whom he honor'd ever after, and by way of gratitude made his Son *Questor*, when he himself came to be a *Prætor*. When he return'd from that Charge, he married his third Wife whose name was *Pompeia*, having a Daughter by *Cornelia*, his first Wife, who was afterward married to *Pompey* the Great. He spent at such a profuse rate, that people thought he chang'd a great and real Treasure for short and popular Glory, whereas indeed he purchased the greatest things from those of little value; and yet 'tis said, that before he had any publick Employment, he was in Debt \* 780000  
\* 1300 Talents. After this, when Crowns. he was chosen Surveyor of the Way, which is call'd *Appian's* way, because he spent a great deal of his own mony; and again, because when he was *Ædile*, he gave the people satisfaction by shewing them 320 pairs of *Gladiators*, and overwhelm'd (if one may use the phrase) all before him, by the magnificent and sumptuous preparations, which he made for *Theatrical*, or other Pompous entertainments; he oblig'd, and pleas'd 'em so extreamly, that every one was ready to invent new Offices, and new Honours,

to recompense his bounty. Now where as there was two factions in the City, the one for *Sylla*, which was very powerful, and the other for *Marius*, which was then under a great consternation, divided, and in a mean condition, *Cæsar*, who was desirous, set it up once more, and takes it for his own, made Images of *Marius*, and Statues of Victory, carrying Trophies in their Armies, and privately in the night time put them up in the Capitol, at that nick of time when the magnificent Shows of his *Ædileship* were in the greatest vogue. Next morning all that saw them glittering, as they were, with Gold and exquisitely wrought, with an Inscription upon them, to signify that they were *Marius's* Victories over the *Cimbrians*, they admired at the boldness of him that set'em up there; for they knew well enough who 'twas. Immediately the rumor of it was spread over all the City, and caused a mighty concourse of the people to see the show. And as there were some that cry'd out against *Cæsar*, as if he design'd a tyranny over'em, because he revived those honours, which had (as it were) been buried by Laws and Edicts, and that this was only an Experiment upon the people, whom he had sweetned with his magnificent,

magnificent, publick entertainments, whether they were tame enough to submit to him, and suffer him to play such tricks, or attempt such innovations: So on the other side all *Marius's* party encourag'd each other, and coming on a sudden in a mighty Body, fill'd all the Capitol with acclamations and applauses. Nay many of them cry'd for joy to see the Images of *Marius*, and praised *Cæsar* to the Skies, as the only person that was worthy of such alliance with *Marius*. Upon this occasion the Senate was call'd, and *Catulus Lucatius*, one of the most eminent Persons in *Rome* at that time, stood up, and accused *Cæsar*, letting fall among others this memorable Sentence; *Cæsar* (said he) *will no longer undermine the Commonwealth, but makes an open battery against it.* But when *Cæsar* had answer'd for himself and satisfied the Senate, all those that loved him were much bricker then before, and advised him not to submit to any Man, for that he was likely to be Lord and Master of all by the peoples consent. At the same juncture of time *Metellus* the High Priest dy'd, whereupon *Isauricus* and *Catulus* were competitors for the Priest-hood, who though they were such eminent Personages and great Senators, yet *Cæsar* wou'd not



not give'em the precedence, but presented himself to the people, and told'em, he was one of the Candidates. Now the issue of the Election being uncertain, *Catulus*, who was a Man of greater Dignity than the other two, fear'd the event, and sent a Messenger to tell *Cæsar*, that if he wou'd desist and not stand for the place, he wou'd give him a great sum of money; but *Cæsar* return'd him answer, That he wou'd furnish out a greater sum than that, to maintain the Suit against him. When the day of Election was come, as his Mother went with him to the Door, crying, he embraced her and said, *Well, Mother! To day you'll see me either High-Priest, or banish'd.* When the Votes were taken, though there were an high debate, he carried it, and thereby gave the Senate, and the rest of the Gentry, some cause to fear that he wou'd incite the Commons to all audacious practices. And upon this occasion *Piso* and *Catulus* with their accomplices accused *Cicero*, for letting *Cæsar* escape the punishment due to one of *Catiline's* Conspirators, when he knew him guilty might have seised him.

For *Catiline* who design'd not only to subvert the present State of the City, but to confound and ruin the universal Fabric

brick

brick of the Empire, escaped the Hands of Justice, for want of sufficient proof against him, before his Conspiracy was fully detected. But he left *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* in Rome to be his Successors in the business, but whether they had any secret aid or assistance from *Cæsar* is not certain: But certain it is, that they were plainly convicted in the Senate; and when *Cicero*, who was then Consul, asked the several opinions of the Senators, what punishment they would inflict upon'em, all the rest, to *Cæsar*, wou'd have'em put to death; but he stood up and made a premeditated Speech, wherein he told them, *That he thought it neither customary nor just to take away the lives of two Men of such great birth and honour, before they were fairly try'd, unless there were an absolute necessity for it.* But if they were kept Prisoners in any Towns of Italy, that *Cicero* himself should choose, till such time as *Catiline* should be vanquished, that then the Senate might peaceably and at their leisure do with'em what they thought fitting. This Opinion was such an argument of humanity, and spoken with so good a grace, that not only those that seconded him, were of the same mind, but also many others that had spoken before him, retracted their own opinions,

opinions, and came over to his; till it came to *Catulus* and *Cato's* turn to speak. And they two indeed did oppose him stoutly, especially *Cato*, who in his Speech so reflected upon him as a suspicious person, and was extraordinary vehement, in so much that the criminals were given up, to suffer execution of death. And many of the young Men, that guarded *Cicero*, ran to *Cesar*, and drew upon him as he went out of the Senate. But *Curio* (they say) cover'd him with his Gown, and so got him away; and *Cicero* himself, when the young Men cast their Eyes upon him, gave a sign that they should not kill him, either for fear of the people, or that he thought the murder was unjust and against Law. I wonder, if this be true, how *Cicero* came to omit it in his Book that he wrote concerning his Consulship. But however that came to pass, *Cicero* was afterward blamed, for not making use of so good an opportunity against *Cesar*; but fearing the people, who were so extraordinarily in love with him. For sometime after, when *Cesar* went into the Senate, to clear himself of those suspicions that lay against him, there happen'd to be great clamors against him; whereupon, the Senate sitting longer then ordinary, the people went up to the Senate.

Senate

Senate-house with a great Shout, and surrounded it, demanding *Cesar*, and commanding them to dismiss him. *Cato* seeing that, was affraid, lest the rabble, who are the bouteseus of Sedition, and reposed all their hope in *Cesar*, should mutiny, persuaded the Senate to distribute amongst 'em every month an additional provision of Corn; which put the Commonwealth to an extraordinary charge of 55000 Crowns every year. This Counsel, no question, not only removed all fear for the present, but less'n'd and enfeebled *Cesar's* power exceedingly; who at that time was just going to be made *Pretor*, and consequently more formidable by his Office. But there was no disturbance during his *Pretorship*; only what misfortune he met with in his own Domestick affairs. *P. Clodius* was a Person well descended, and eminent both for his riches and eloquence, but then he was the most wicked, impudent, abominable fellow in his conversation that ever was. This *Clodius* was in love with *Pompeia*, *Cesar's* Wife, and she accepted his Amour. But there were strict guards upon her apartment, and *Cesar's* Mother, *Aurelia*, who was a discreet Woman, being continually with her, made it very difficult and dangerous for them two to meet.

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meet.

meet. Now in *Rome* there is a Goddess, whom they call the good Goddess, which is the same that the Greeks call the Goddess of Women. The *Phrygians* who claim her as peculiar to them, say she was Mother to King *Midas*; whereas the *Romans* tell us, she was a Nymph call'd *Dryas*, and married to *Faunus*; but the *Grecians* affirm, that she was that Mother of *Bacchus*, which no Man dare name. Upon which account the Women that celebrate her Festival, cover the Tents, wherein they perform her rights, with Wine-branches, and there is an holy Dragon lies consecrated at her Feet, as the Fable goes. It is not lawful for a Man to be by, nor so much as in the House, when her Rites are celebrated; but the Women all alone perform (they say) such Ceremonies as were used in Sacrifices to *Orpheus*. Therefore when the day comes, the Husband, who is constantly a Consul or a *Prator*, and with him every male creature, departs the House. Then the Wife is sole Mistress of it, and sets it in order for the celebration of the Ceremonies, which are most commonly perform'd in the night time, which they spend in Singing, Musick and Dancing. As *Pompeia* was at that time celebrating this same Feast, *Clodius* who

as yet had no Beard, and so thought to go undiscovered, took upon him the habit and guise of a Singing-Woman, because he was like a young Girl, and came thither: where finding the Door open, he was introduced without any more ado by a Servant maid that was privy to the business. As soon as he was in, the maid ran before to tell *Pompeia*, but staid so long from him, that he was weary of waiting, where she left him; and therefore walkt out of one Room of the spacious House, into another, still shunning the Lights, till at last *Aurelia's* Woman chanced to meet him, and wou'd needs have him play with her, as one Woman uses to do with another; but he not answering her expectation, she pull'd him forward, and ask'd him who he was, and whence he came? *Clodius* told her he stay'd for *Aura* one of *Pompeia's* maids (for so her Name was) which he had no sooner said, but his voice betray'd him; and away runs the Light and the Company, crying out, *That she had found a Man*. The Women were all amazed; and *Aurelia* caused the Orgies to cease, and then drawing a Veil over them, and commanding the Doors to be shut, went all about with Lights to find *Clodius*, who was gotten into the

Maids Chamber, that he came in with, and there he was taken. The Women knew him, and turn'd him out of Doors; and then immediately whilst it was yet night, went home and told their Husbands what he had done. Next morning it was all about the Town what a wicked attempt *Clodius* had made, and how he ought to be punish'd not only for their sakes whom he had affronted, but in respect to the Common-wealth and the Gods. Hereupon one of the Tribunes of the people indicted *Clodius* for prophaning the holy Orgies, and others that were principal, and most powerful Senators came in and Swore against him, not only that he had committed many dissolute crimes, but also that he had committed incest with his own Sister, who was married to *Lucullus*. But the people opposed all their endeavours and defended *Clodius*; which did him great service before the Judges; for they were astonished at it, and were affraid to provoke the Commons. Nevertheless *Cæsar* put away his Wife *Pompeia* upon it, and yet when he was call'd for a witness against *Clodius*, he said, *He knew nothing of the matter which they alledged against him.* His answer seem'd strange to them, so the Accuser ask'd him, *Why he put away his Wife then?*

*then?* *Cæsar* replied, *Because I cannot endure that the Woman who is my Wife shou'd be so much as suspected.* Some say *Cæsar* spake this as his own sentiment, others say it was to please the people, who were very desirous to save *Clodius*. So *Clodius* was acquitted, by reason that most of the Judges gave their votes in such confused Characters, that no Body cou'd read 'em; and glad they were to make use of that artifice, lest the people shou'd have maligned 'em for condemning, or the Nobility thought the worse of 'em for acquitting him. *Cæsar* in the mean time having gone through his *Prætorship*, the Province of *Spain* fell to his lot, but as he was just preparing to go, his importunate Creditors came about him, dunning him and railing at him most bitterly, which made him address himself to *Crassus*, who at that time was the richest Man in all *Rome*, but wanted *Cæsar's* spirit and vivacity to countermine *Pompey's* power, and policy. And when *Crassus* had undertaken to pay his most vexatious, and most inexorable Creditors to the value of eight hundred and thirty Talents, he went to his Province. In which Journey, the Story goes, that as he went over the *Alps*, he pass'd by a little Village of Barbarians, which was inhabited by very

few, and those very poor and starveling Creatures; upon which occasion his familiars smil'd and ask'd him in a jocular manner, *If there were any canvassing for Honours there, any contention for Superiority, or envy of great Men one toward another?* And that *Cæsar* shou'd tell 'em again very seriously, *Truly for my part, I had rather be the best Man among these fellows, than the second best in Rome.* And that, another time in *Spain*, as he was reading the History of *Alexander* (having nothing else to do) that he sat melancholy and thoughtful a great while together, and then burst out into tears, and that, his Friends, admiring what shou'd be the reason of it, he ask'd 'em, *Do you think I ought not to weep, when Alexander at my age had Conquered so many Nations, and I have done nothing worth the speaking of?* As soon as he came into *Spain*, he fell to his business immediately, in so much that in a few days he added ten new Companies of Foot to those twenty that were there before; fought the *Gallaecians* and the *Lucitanians*, conquer'd 'em, and made his way as far as the Ocean, subduing all before him, who never yet had paid homage to the *Romans*. And as he managed his Military affairs very well, he was no less prudent as well as diligent in those of

Peace;

Peace; uniting the Cities one to another, and especially healing the differences betwixt Debtors and their Creditors concerning Usury. For he order'd that the Creditor should receive two parts of the Debtors yearly Incom, till their debt was paid, and that the Debtor himself, shou'd have the other part for his own maintenance. By this means he left the Province with a great Reputation; for he was rich himself, and made his Soldiers so too, who for that reason call'd him *Imperator*, which is as much as Sovereign Captain, or General. At his return he at once demanded a Triumph and the Consulate. But because there is one Law among the *Romans*, that whoever desires to Triumph, must stay without the City till it be granted; and another Law, that says, whoever stands to be Consul, must be in person upon the place; he found a great deal of difficulty in these two opposite Ordinances, for he came home at that very time when they were chusing Consuls, so that he was fain to send and beseech the Senate that they wou'd do him the favour, to let him stand for it by Proxy. *Cato* was against him upon the first proposal, and alledged an express Law to the contrary; and seeing that a great many Senators

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whom *Cæsar* had ingaged, inclined to grant what he desired, he spun out the time to no purpose, and wasted a whole day in making long Speeches; wherefore *Cæsar* thought fit to lay by all thoughts of a Triumph, and to stick to the Consulate. And so immediately marching in to the City, he made use of a stratagem that deceived all Men living but *Cato*; which was, the reconciling of *Pompey* and *Crassus*, the two greatest Men in *Rome*, who formerly had been at variance. Whom when he had made Friends, and consequently strengthen'd himself by the united power of two such Men, he privately subverted the State, whilst he did that which had the most plausible appearance in the World. For it was not the difference between *Pompey* and *Cæsar* (as most Men suppose) that bred the Civil Wars, but it was rather their union at first in a confederacy to pull down the Nobility, and falling out at last between themselves. *Cato*, who often foretold what would be the end on't, got nothing else at that time but the reputation of a peevish, pragmatical Man, though afterward he had the Name for a wise but not an happy Counsellor. Thus *Cæsar*, guarded by the Friendship of *Crassus* on the one Hand, and *Pompey* on the other,

other, got the Consulate, and was openly declared with his Colleague *Calpurnius Bibulus*. As soon as he was in the Office, he preferr'd Bills in the Senate-house, more becoming a bold Tribune of the People, than a Consul; that is to say, such, whereby he proposed a division of Lands, and a frank distribution of Corn among the people on purpose to oblige them. And when the best and the most honorable Senators opposed him, he, who had long wanted such an opportunity to excuse himself; cry'd out, and protested that it was mere necessity, considering the rudeness and severity of the Senate to him, that forc'd him to have recourse to, and care for the People: And standing between *Crassus* and *Pompey*, he ask'd them, *Whether they approved of the Laws which he proposed?* And they answering in the Affirmative, he desired them to assist him against those that threatned they would obstruct him with their Swords. They promised they would. And *Pompey* said farther, *That he would meet their Swords not only with a Sword, but that he would bring a Buckler with him besides.* His saying so displeased the Lords of the Senate, because they thought it suited neither with his gravity, nor the reverence due to that Assembly, but was  
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on the contrary both rash, and childish. But the People were pleas'd at it. And *Cæsar*, that he might make the power of *Pompey* still more and more his own, bestow'd upon him in marriage his Daughter *Julia* who was contracted to *Servilius Cæpio*, and told *Servilius*, he shou'd have *Pompey's* Daughter, who was design'd for *Sylla's* Son, *Faustus*. A little while after *Cæsar* himself married *Calpurnia* the Daughter of *Piso*: and made *Piso* be prickt down for Consul the year following. *Cato* seeing that, broke out into a passion, and calling all the gods to witness, said, *It was an intollerable thing, that they should prostitute the Empire by such marriages, and bring each other into the command of Provinces, Armies, or other places of the greatest Trust, only by Women.* And *Bibulus*, *Cæsar's* Colleague, finding he cou'd do no good by opposing his Laws, but rather was oftentimes in danger of being knockt on the Head, as well as *Cato*, in the Market-place, he shut himself up in his own House, and there spent all the remaining part of his Consulship. As soon as *Pompey* was married, he fill'd the Market-place with Soldiers, and so gave Authority to those Laws which *Cæsar* had made in favour of the people; and to *Cæsar* himself he made them assign the Government of

Gaule,

*Gaule*, as well that which is beyond, as on this side the *Alpes*, together with *Illyricum*, and four Legions of Men, for five years. *Cato* was about to resist these proceedings, and therefore *Cæsar* got him carried to prison, thinking he wou'd have appealed to the Tribunes. But when *Cæsar* saw, that he went along with the Serjeants without speaking one word, and that not only the Nobility took it very ill, but that the People also, out of a deference to *Cato's* vertue, expressed a great deal of sorrow, whilst they follow'd him, even by their silence and hanging down their Heads, he himself went privately and desired one of the Tribunes to rescue *Cato*. After which Action of *Cæsar's*, there were but few Senators, that came to Council, whilst he was Consul, and the rest absented themselves, because they cou'd not endure to see the things which he did. And when *Considius*, a very old Man, told him one day, *That the Senators did not all meet together, for fear of the Arms and the Soldiers.* Why then (said *Cæsar*) don't you keep at home for the same reason? Oh! (quoth *Considius*) my Age secures from fear; nor does that small remnant of my Life that is to come deserve much caution. But the worst thing that was done whilst

*Cæsar*

*Cæsar* was Consul was the chusing of *Clodius* to be Tribune of the people; that very *Clodius*, who would have defiled his bed, and did pollute the holy Vigils, that were kept in *Cæsar's* own House. He was chosen with design to ruin *Cicero*, nor did *Cæsar* go to his Army, before he and *Clodius* had made such a party against *Cicero*, that they banish'd him out of *Italy*. These are the actions which he did before the Wars with *Gaule*, according to the account which we have of him.

But the time of those Battles that he afterwards fought, and his expeditions wherein he subdued the *Gaules*, made him appear to have laid down new principles of Action, and to have alter'd the whole course and conduct of his affairs, but made it evident at the same time, that he was not inferior to any Soldier or General among all those great and renowned Chiefs that have Commanded Armies. But if you compare him with the *Fabii*, the *Scipioes*, the *Metelli*, *Sylla* and *Marinus*, who were his contemporaries, or a little before him, the two *Luculluses*, or even *Pompey* himself,

*Whose warlike glory did advance so high,  
That unconfin'd it flew above the sky.*

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You will find, that *Cæsar* out did 'em all in every thing that belongs to a good Soldier; that is to say, some he excell'd in respect to the places, disadvantageous where he fought; others in regard to the largeness of the Country which he Conquered; another, considering the multitude, and the brutal valour of whom he Conquer'd; another, in the savage, wild disposition of some he had to deal with, whom he tamed, and reduced into good order and discipline; another, by his clemency and lenity to those he conquer'd; another, by his bounty and munificence to his Fellow-Soldiers, and all of 'em, in the number of Battles that he fought, and the numbers of his Enemies which he took off. For he had not been with his Army in *Gaule* full ten years, but he took above 800 Towns by storm, subdued 300 Nations; and having had before him three millions of Men in Battalia at several times, he killed one million, and took as many more. His Soldiers lov'd him so well, and were so ready to serve him, that those, who were but ordinary fellows in other expeditions, became irresistible, and invincible, and ran upon any dangerous enterprise where *Cæsar's* glory was concern'd. As for Example, *Acilius*, who

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in the Sea-fight before *Marfeille*, boarding an Enemies Ship, had his right Hand cut off, and yet did not let go his Buckler out of his left, but beat the Enemies in the Face with it so long till he defeated 'em, and made himself Master of the Vessel. And another time one *Cassius Scaeva*, who in a Battle near *Dyrachium*, having one of his Eyes shot out, and being run through the shoulder with one Javelin, and through the thigh with another, after he had received an hundred and thirty darts upon his Target, he called out to the Enemy, as though he had a mind to take quarter; and when two of 'em came up to him, he cut off one of their shoulders, and having wounded the other in the face, made him run for it, whilst he by the assistance of some of his own party made a safe escape. Again in *England*, when some of the chief Officers of the Armies were accidentally fallen into a bog, full of mire and water, where the Enemies set upon 'em, a common Soldier of *Cæsars*, who was an Eye-witness of the action, ran furiously into the middle of 'em, and by many, and those very signal demonstrations of his courage, saved the Officers, and routed the Barbarians; and after he had so done, he was the last that marcht off the place; nor cou'd he

well

well go, but threw himself into the ouzy stream, which with great difficulty, partly swimming and partly walking, he past, but lost his Target by the way. All those that were about *Cæsar*, wonder'd at him, and went to meet him with joy and acclamations; but the poor Soldier hung down his Head, wept, and threw himself at *Cæsar's* Feet; begging his pardon for that he had lost his Buckler. Another time in *Africa*, when *Scipio* had taken a Ship of *Cæsars*, wherein among others was one *Granius Petronius*, lately chosen Questor, he left all the rest of the Ships company as free prize to his Soldiers; but, said he, *wou'd preserve the Questor, and give him his Life*; but he replied, *That it was not usual for Cæsar's Soldiers to take, but to give Life*, and immediately took his Sword and stabb'd himself. Now *Cæsar* himself did first beget, and then cherish such resolutions, such brave ambition to be great; first, by his munificence in distributing Money and Honour, and shewing them thereby, that he did not heap up the rich spoils of his Enemies to serve his own Luxury, or for any private satisfaction to himself, but that he laid them up in bank, only to remunerate Valour in all his stout Soldiers; and that he enjoy'd

no

no more of them, then what he divided among those that deserved it. Nor wou'd he refuse to venture upon any hazardous exploit, or excuse himself from any toil; and therefore the Soldiers did not wonder at his audacity, because they knew his ambition. But his enduring so much hardship, which he did to all appearance beyond his natural strength; struck them with amazement. For though he were a spare Man, and had a white, soft skin, somewhat distemper'd in his Head, and subject to the Falling-Sickness (which they say first seized him at *Corduba*, a City in *Spain*) yet he did not make his indisposition of Body a pretext for Effeminacy, but made his warfaring a medicine for his weakness; whilst by indefatigable journies, thin diet, and lying out in the Field, he struggled and waged War (as it were) even with his Disease, and kept his Body so guarded by this means, that it was very hard for any ill to attack. He slept most commonly in his Chariots or his Litters; but employed the very hours of rest in the designs of Action. In the day time he was carried to Castles, Cities, or Fortifications, with one Servant along with him in the Chariot, who, among others, used to write down what he dictated, and

and a Souldier behind the Coach to carry his Sword. Thus wou'd he travel so swiftly, that when he first set out from *Rome*, he arrived at the River *Rhone* in eight days. Now he rode well from his Childhood, for he used to sit with his Hands behind him, and put the Horse to the full speed. But in that War with *Gaule*, he improv'd himself so, as to dictate Letters from on Horseback, as fast as two cou'd write, or more than two, as *Oppian* says. And they say, he was the first that invented Ciphers, whereby he might converse with his Friends at a distance, when urgent Occasions, a multitude of Business, or the large extent of the City, wou'd not permit them to come together. To give an instance how indifferent he was in his Diet, they say, that when *Valerius Leo*, a Friend of his, entertain'd him one night at *Milan*, with Sparagus, (among other things) that had sweet-scented Oyl in it for Sauce instead of Saller-Oyl, he ate of it very freely, and reprov'd some of his Friends, that were offended at it; for (said he) if you had not liked it, you might have let it alone; but now he that finds fault with such a piece of Rusticity, is himself as great a Clown. Another time upon the Road he was driven by a sudden Storm into a poor man's

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Cottage, in which he found but one Chamber, that wou'd hardly hold one Man, and therefore he told his Companions, that the most honourable Places ought to be given to the greatest Men, and the most necessary Places to the weakest; and thereupon he commanded that *Oppius*, who was not well, should lye within, whilst he and the rest slept under a Shed at the Door.

The first War that he waged in *Gaule* was against the *Helvetians* and *Tigurinians*, who when they had burnt 12 of their own Towns, and 400 Villages, march'd forward through that part of *Gaule*, which is under the *Romans*; just as the *Cimbrians* and the *Tentons* formerly had done. Nor did they fall short of these in Courage, nor was their number less, for they were in all 300000 Souls, of which an 190000 were fighting Men. It was not *Cæsar* himself in person, but *Labienus* one of his Commission-Officers, that routed them about the River *Arar*. But the *Helvetians* set upon him by surprise, as himself was leading his Army to a confederate Town, and yet he made a shift to prevent their design, by getting into a Place well fortified; where when he had muster'd and marshall'd his Men, they brought him his Horse to ride upon

into the Field; but he refused and said, *I'll use my Horse when I have won the Battel, to chase my Enemies, but at the present let us go against them as we are*; and accordingly he charged them briskly on Foot: and after a long and a sharp Engagement, when he had defeated them, that were in the Field, he had the greatest trouble with their Carriages, and their Ramparts, which they had brought together, and rais'd for their defence; within which not only the Men stood and fought, but even their Wives and Children defended themselves till death; till they were all cut off; insomuch that the Fight was scarce done by midnight. But he crown'd the great work of this Victory with a more glorious Action, by gathering together all the *Barbarians* (above an 100000) that escaped from the Battel, and forcing them to repair into the Countrey which they had left, and to the Cities which they had burnt. And this he did out of fear, lest the *Germans* shou'd come over the *Rhine*, and get possession of that Countrey whilst it lay uninhabited. His second War was in defence of the *Gaules* against the *Germans*, though he had made *Ariovistus* their King not long before, to be received and avowed in *Rome* as a Friend and Ally of the *Romans*. For they

were very insufferable Neighbours to all that he had subdu'd, and as occasion serv'd, were not contented with their present condition, but wou'd make Incurſions into *Gaul*, and take poſſeſſion of it. But when he ſaw his Commanders timorous, and eſpecially thoſe of the Nobility, and other young Gentlemen that came along with him as Voluntiers, and thought to make uſe of the Expedition, only to promote their Pleaſure or their Profit, he call'd 'em together, and bade 'em march off, and not run the riſque of a Battel againſt their Inclinations, ſince they were ſuch unmanly, effeminate Cowards: telling them, that he wou'd take only the 10th. Legion and march againſt the *Barbarians*, whom he ſhou'd not find to be ſtronger or more invincible Foes than the *Cimbrians*, nor himſelf prove a Captain, any way inferiour to *Marius*. Upon this the 10th. Legion ſent Envoys to him to give him thanks; and the other Legions blamed their Captains, and being all of them full of an intention, and very willing to ſerve him, they follow'd him many days journeys, till they came within 12 Leagues of the Enemies. *Arioviſtus's* Courage was cooled upon their very approach: for ſeeing the *Romans* come to charge the *Germans*, whom he thought they

they cou'd never withſtand, it was ſo unexpected a thing, that he admired at *Cæſar's* Courage, and ſaw his own Army ſeized with a kind of Conſternation. But that which added more force ſtill to the rebatement of their Courage, was the Prophecies of their ſhe-Fortune-tellers, who by obſerving the Whirlpools in Rivers, as alſo the windings of Streams, and the noiſe which they make by falling, predict future Events, and did forbid them to pitch their Battel before the next new-Moon. When *Cæſar* underſtood that, and ſaw the *Germans* lye ſtill, he thought it his beſt courſe to ſet upon 'em whiſt they were under that ſuperſtitious fear of Fighting, rather than to ſit down and expect their ſeaſonable Occaſion. And immediately he attacks 'em even in their Fortifications, and upon the Hills where they lay, till he made 'em ſo mad, and vex'd 'em to that degree, as that they came down with fury to the Battel. But they were routed moſt baſely, and he purſu'd 'em for 18 Leagues, as far as the *Rhine*, and cover'd all the way with Spoils and Carcaſſes of dead men. But *Arioviſtus* making more haſte than he did, paſſ'd the *Rhine* with a ſmall Retinue; for they ſay the number of the ſlain amounted to 80000. After this Exploit,

*Cæsar* left his Army to winter in the Countrey of the *Sequanians*, and being intent upon his Affairs at *Rome*, went down into that part of *Gaule*, which lyes upon the *Poe*, and was part of his Province; for there the River *Rubicon* divides *Gaule*, which is on this side of the *Alpes*, from the rest of *Italy*. There he stay'd, and courted the People of *Rome*, who came to him in great numbers, because he gave each of 'em whatever they ask'd, and sent 'em all away not only laden with present Gifts, but full of Hopes for the future. And during all the time of this War with the *Gaules*, *Pompey* never consider'd, how on the one side he conquer'd his Enemies with the Arms of *Rome*, and on the other subdued the *Romans* with the Money which he took from the *Gaules*. But when *Cæsar* heard that the *Belgæ*, who were the most powerful of all the *Gaules*, and inhabited a third part of all *Gaule*, were in Rebellion, and that they had raised a great many thousands of Men, he presently turn'd the course of his Journey that way with all expedition; and falling upon 'em just as they were plundering his Allies the *Gaules*, he defeated and put to flight a mighty number of 'em, who made but ill defence for their Lives; in-  
somuch that the Marshes and deep Rivers  
were

were made passable to the *Romans*, by the prodigious quantity of the dead Bodies. But among those that revolted, all that lived near the Ocean, yielded without fighting; wherefore he led his Army against the *Nervians*, who are the most savage and the most warlike People in all those Parts. These People live in a thick woody Countrey, and so having bestow'd their Children, with all the Goods they had, in some close place of a great Forest, most remote from the Enemies, they set upon *Cæsar* with 60000 Men, ere he dreamt of fighting, and before he had incamp'd. So they routed the *Roman* Cavalry, and having begirt the 12th. and 7th. Legions, they kill'd all the Officers; and if *Cæsar* himself had not catch'd up a Buckler, and ran through those that were before him into the midst of the *Barbarians*, and the 10th. Legion that saw him in danger, from an Hill where they lay, had not ran to his assistance, and broken the Ranks of the Enemies, there had not one man in all probability been saved. But tho' they had fought in this conflict even beyond their strength, by the encouragement of *Cæsar's* Valour, yet was not that enough to make the *Nervians* fly, but they stood to it till they were every Man cut off; for out of 60000

Souldiers, they say, there were not above 500 saved, and of 400 Senators, not above 3. When the Senate at *Rome* heard this, they order'd Sacrifices and Supplications to the Gods for 15 days, which is longer Festival than ever was known to be decreed for any Victory before; for the danger appear'd great from so many Nations that were up in Arms at the same time, and the favour of the People to *Cæsar* made the Victory more conspicuous, because he was the Conqueror. For when he had settled the Affairs of *Gaule* in a pretty good posture, he came back to winter in the Parts adjacent to *Poe*, in order to prepare the City of *Rome* with Resolutions suitable to his Designs. For not only they that stood for Offices, were chosen by the help of Money, which he furnish'd them with, to corrupt the People, and buy their Vores, but they did all things that might advance his Power; the most eminent and the greatest Men in *Rome* came flocking to him to *Luca*, as *Pompey* and *Crassus*, and *Appius* the *Prætor* of *Sardinia*, and *Nepos* the *Proconsul* of *Spain*: So that there were upon the Place at one time 120 *Lictors*, or *Serjeants*, that carry'd bundles of Rods and Axes before the *Consuls*, and more than 200 *Senators*, who held a Council there, and deter-

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min'd, That *Pompey* and *Crassus* should be *Consuls* again for the following year: That an Order should be drawn to raise a new Supply of Money for *Cæsar*; and that he should keep his Government for five years longer. This seem'd very strange and unreasonable to all wise Men; for they that had received so much Money of *Cæsar*, perswaded the Senate to grant him more, as if he had wanted it, nay, indeed, they not only perswaded, but rather forced 'em, though they were sorry for what they pass'd. *Cato* was at that time absent, for they had sent him very opportunely into *Cyprus*; but *Favonius*, who was a zealous Imitator of *Cato*, seeing he cou'd do no good by making Speeches against it, ran out into the Street, and cry'd aloud to the People, that it was a great shame: But no body minded him, because some had a Respect and Honour for *Pompey* and *Crassus*, and the rest (which were the most) were willing to gratifie *Cæsar*, as living upon hopes from his Bounty, and therefore lay still. After this *Cæsar* return'd to his Army in *Gaule*, where he found a great War levy'd in the Countrey, by reason that the People called *Ipes* and *Tenterides*, two mighty Nations in *Germany*, had pass'd the *Rhine* to make new Conquests. Now

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of the Battel that he waged with these People, *Cæsar* himself has written in his own Commentaries: How the *Barbarians* set upon him as he march'd along, though they had sent Ambassadors to him, and made a Truce, and by which means, with 800 Men they routed 5000 of the *Roman* Horse, who little expected their coming. But afterward, when they sent other Ambassadors to impose upon him at the same rate, he kept them in custody, and led his Army on against the *Barbarians*, because he thought it ridiculous simplicity to keep his word with such a faithless and dishonourable sort of Men, whom no League cou'd oblige. Concerning which, *Canusius* says, that when the Senate ordain'd, that Festivals should be kept, and Sacrifices be offer'd upon the account of this Victory, *Cato* gave it out as his opinion, that *Cæsar* ought to have been deliver'd into the hands of the *Barbarians*, to expiate the guilt which their City had contracted, by his breaking the Law of Arms and Nations, and to lay the Curse which attended it, upon him that was Author of the Fact. Of those that passed the *Rhine*, there were 400000 slain; but some few got away, and were receiv'd by the *Sicambrians*, a certain People of *Germany*, *Cæsar* made use of this occasion

to

to their prejudice; but being otherwise ambitious, and in this particular case extremely covetous of being the first Man that shou'd pass the *Rhine* with an Army, he made a Bridge over it, though it be very broad, especially in that place: for there it is not only wide, but rough and rapid, insomuch that it shakes and weakens the foundations of the Bridge with Trunks of Trees, and other Timber which the Stream brings down with such a force against it. But he drave mighty Piles into the River some space above the Bridge, both to resist the shock of all such things, and to break the torrent of the Waters, so that in ten days time he had quite finish'd his Bridge, which was so curiously made, that no man who had seen it, wou'd have believ'd it had been begun and perfected in so short a space. But so it really was, and he led his Army over it, but no body durst oppose him; for the *Suevians* themselves, who are the most warlike People of all *Germany*, fled with their Goods into deep and woody Vales. Wherefore having burnt all the Enemies Countrey, and encouraged all those that had been always Friends to *Rome*, he went back into *Gaule*, after he had spent only 18 days in *Germany*. But his Expedition into *England* gave as signal

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nal a testimony of his Courage ; for he was the first that ever had a Navy upon the Western Ocean, or sailed through the *Atlantick* Sea with an Army, to make War upon that Isle : which though it were reported to be of such an incredible extent, that People scarce believed there was any such thing in Nature, besides that it has caused a great diversity of Opinions among many Historians , as though it were a meer Name of an Isle that never had a Being, yet he attempted to conquer it, and enlarge the *Roman* Empire beyond the Limits of the known World. For he went thither twice out of *France*, which lyes over against it, and in several Battels that he fought, did more damage to his Enemies, than good to his own Men ; for the *Islanders* were so miserable poor, that they had nothing worth the taking from them. So that he could not put such an end to the War as he desired, but was fain to take Hostages of the King there , and after he had imposed some certain Taxes upon them, he left the Island , and went back into *Gaule*. And no sooner was he arrived there, but he found Letters that were just coming over to him, from his Friends at *Rome*, that gave him notice of his Daughters death, who died in Labour of a Child by

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*Pompey*. For which *Pompey* and *Cæsar* too were extreemly sorry ; nor were their Friends less troubled at it, because that Alliance was dissolv'd, which kept the Commonwealth in Peace and Concord, and free from all Distempers that might otherwise have been bred in it : for the Child died too in a few days after the Mother. The People took the Body of *Julia*, in spite of the *Tribunes*, and carry'd it into the *Campus Martius*, i. e. the Field of *Mars*, and there perform'd all Funeral Rites due to such a Person. But *Cæsar* having been forced to divide his Army, which was now grown very numerous, into many several Winter-quarters, and being gone himself toward *Italy*, (as he used to do every year ) all the *Gaules* revolted at one time, and great Armies were on foot about the Countrey, who block'd up the *Romans* in their Winter-quarters , and attempted to force themselves into their Forts and Garrisons where they lay. The most numerous, and the stoutest part of the Rebels, were under the Command of one *Ambicrix*, who first defeated *Cotta* and *Titurinus*, killing both them and all their Army. Then they laid close Siege to the Legion that was under the Charge of *Q. Cicero*, and had almost taken it by meer force, had

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not the *Roman* Souldiers, though they were all wounded, made a brisk and a chearful defence, even beyond their natural strength. When *Cæsar*, who at that time was a great way off, had this News brought him, he presently return'd into *Gaule*, and with 5000 Men in all, hasten'd to relieve *Cicero*. The Besiegers were aware of it, and went to meet him, with confidence that they shou'd easily rout him, whose number of Men was so small, that they contemn'd it. *Cæsar* to deceive them, seem'd to avoid fighting, by marching off from them every day, till he came to a place which was conveniently situate for a Man that is to fight with a few against a great many, and there he incamp'd. He commanded his Souldiers not to go out of the Trenches, so much as to skirmish with the Enemies, but compelled 'em to raise a Rampire, and build strong Gates, as if they were afraid, to make the Enemy despise 'em more and more: till at last as they came one day with great boldness, but as great disorder, to make an Attack, he made a Sally upon them, and putting them all to flight, kill'd a great number. This appeased and prevented Rebellions in that part of *Gaule*; nor had *Cæsar* less care of other Places, for he went about all the Winter

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in his own Person, and took great care against all Innovations. And this he was the better able to do, because at that time there came to him out of *Italy* three Legions by way of Recruits, instead of those Men he had lost; whereof *Pompey* furnish'd him with two out of those that he commanded, and the third was newly raised out of that part of *Gaule* that lies upon the *Poe*. In this Juncture, the seeds of War that had long been secretly sown, and were now propagated by the principal Men in the most warlike Nations, that liv'd remote from the Place we now speak of, broke out and appeared with all the Symptoms of the greatest and most dangerous War that ever *Cæsar* waged in *Gaule*, because they were attended and strengthen'd by great multitudes of lusty young Men, and vast quantities of Arms, which they had amass'd from all Places, besides the mighty Summs of Money, the strong Towns, and impregnable Places, that did conduce to it. And then again it was Winter time, when all the Rivers were frozen up, the Woods not discernable, by reason of the vehement storms of Snow that fell, and the Fields turn'd into Marishes, by reason of the Floods; so that in some Places they could not see the Ways for depth of Snow, and in other

Pla.

Places the overflowing of the Bogs and Torrents made the Passage very dangerous and uncertain: all which Difficulties together render'd it seemingly impossible for *Cæsar* to make any Attempt upon the Rebels. Now there were many Nations that revolted; but the two-chieft were the *Avernians* and the *Carnutes*, who had chosen for their General one *Vercingetorix*, whose Father the *Gaules* had put to death, upon suspicion that he aspired to exercise tyrannick Power over them. This *Vercingetorix*, dividing his Army into many Parties, after he had made a great many Captains under him, endeavour'd to draw all the Countrey round about, even as far as the *Adriatick* Sea, into the same Confederacy, with a design to imbroil all *Gaule*, since at *Rome* there was already form'd a Conspiracy against *Cæsar*. Which if he had done a little later, when *Cæsar* was engaged in the Civil War, there wou'd have been as much reason for the *Italians* to have fear'd the Inundation of the *Gaules*, as formerly that of the *Cimbrians*. But at this time *Cæsar*, who, it seem'd, knew very well how to make use of all things that conduced to War, but especially Opportunity, as soon as he heard of this Rising, return'd immediately the same way, he came, and demonstrated to the

A *Cæsar*, Ar-  
er, the Soane.

the *Barbarians*, by the irresistible celerity of his March in such a tempestuous Season, that an invincible Army was coming against them. For one wou'd not have believ'd that a single Post, or a Letter-carrier from him, cou'd have come so far in a great while, as he was seen to have come with all his Army; plundering and burning their Countrey, forcing and destroying their Towns and Ports, and receiving all those to mercy that wou'd return and come over to his Party: so long, till the very *Heduns* declared themselves against him, though formerly they styl'd themselves Brethren to the People of *Rome*, and were in great esteem with *Cæsar*; but now on the contrary they were joyned with the Rebels, which mightily discouraged *Cæsar's* Army. Wherefore he removed thence, and went over the Countrey of the *Lingones*, having a desire to go as far as the Countrey of the *Sequanians*, who were Allies, and lye between *Italy* and the rest of *Gaule*. There his Enemies came upon him, and inclosed him with many myriads, yet he had a great mind to fight 'em; and therefore as he was too hard for 'em upon all other accounts, so he quite routed and subdued the *Barbarians* by tract of time, and the fear which he put them in. But he

seemed to make some false steps at first, and the *Arvernians* show you a Sword, hanging up in a Temple there, which, they say, was taken from *Cæsar*. This Sword *Cæsar* afterward saw, and smil'd at it; and when his Friends wou'd have taken it down, he wou'd not let them, because he look'd upon it as an holy thing. In the mean time a great part of those that escaped, fled with their King into a Town call'd *Alexia*; which Town whilst *Cæsar* was besieging, though it appear'd by the heighth of the Walls, and the multitude of those that defend it, to be impregnable, he met with a greater Misadventure without, than can be possibly exprest: for all the stoutest men of *Gaule*, pickt out, and arm'd from every Nation, came to *Alexia*, full 300000 in number, nor were there in the Town less than an 170000 fighting Men. So that *Cæsar* being inclosed, and begirt in the midst of such an Army, was forc'd to make a double Wall, one toward the Town, and the other to keep off the new Supplies, that were then come to relieve it; for if these Troops had been joynd to those of the Town, *Cæsar's* business had been certainly done. Wherefore this Danger that he underwent before *Alexia*, did justly gain him greater Honour, than any

any other Battel ever did, because it was the greatest Instance both of his Valour and his Prowess, that ever was known. But one wou'd wonder very much, how they who were in the Town, should be insensible that *Cæsar* fought and conquer'd so many thousands without; though it is more to be admired, that the *Romans* themselves who guarded the Wall next the City, shou'd not perceive it. For even they knew nothing of the Victory, before they heard the Cryes of the Men, and the Lamentations of the Women, that were in *Alexia*, and saw from thence the *Romans* on the other side of the Town, carrying into their Camp a great quantity of Bucklers adorn'd with Gold and Silver, many Cuirasses and Corselets stain'd with Blood, besides Cups and Tents after the *Gallick* fashion; so soon was so great an Army dissipated and vanish'd, just as a Ghost or a Dream, being most part of them lost in that one Battel upon the Spot. Those that were in *Alexia*, after they had given both themselves and *Cæsar* a great deal of trouble, surrender'd themselves at last: and *Vercingetorix*, who was the Ringleader of all the War, with his best Armour on, and his Horse very finely equipped, rode out of the Gates, and so round about *Cæsar*,

*far*, who was then sitting down. When he had done so, he quitted his Horse, threw away his Armour, and fate him down quietly at *Cæsar's* Feet, till he was committed into Custody as a Prisoner of War, who shou'd afterward be led in Triumph.

Now *Cæsar* had long since proposed to ruine *Pompey*, as likewise *Pompey* him; for *Crassus* being slain in *Parthia*, who was their Assistant in the Government, the one wanted nothing to make himself the greatest man in *Rome*, but to destroy him that was so, nor had the other any way to prevent it, but by taking off *Cæsar* whom he fear'd. But *Pompey*, who till that time contemned *Cæsar*, and thought it no difficulty to pull him down, that himself had set up, had not been long under such Apprehensions. But *Cæsar* who had laid this Design against his Antagonists from the very beginning, retired far from them, like a Wrestler, to prepare himself for the Combat, and by exercising himself in the *Gallick Wars*, prepared his Army for any Action, and advanced his own Glory by his great Exploits. Insomuch that he was extoll'd for one that vied with all the glorious Deeds of *Pompey*; nor was he neglectful to take all occasions of executing his Enter-

terprize, which he had given him partly by *Pompey* himself, partly the Times, and the ill-Government of *Rome*; whereby it was allow'd, that all Candidates for Offices might buy the Peoples Voices without any blushing, for Money told upon Counters which they set up in publick Places. And the People came down to the place of Election after their Bribe was paid them, not with their Suffrages for him they thought worthy, but with Bows, Swords and Slings, in a warlike manner; so that the Assembly seldom brake up, but the Tribunal was besmear'd with the Blood of those that were kill'd upon the Place, whilst the City was left in Confusion, like a Ship without a Pilot. Upon which account many wise men desired, and were satisfied, that the State shou'd be changed to no worse than a Monarchy, considering the Madness and the Tumult which at that time bore all before it like a mighty Wave. Nay, there were many that were so bold at that time as to say publickly, that the Commonwealth was incurable but by a Monarchy, and that they ought to take that remedy from the hands of the most gentle Physician, meaning *Pompey*: to which though he counterfeited an aversion, yet he endeavour'd under-hand by all means to be

made *Dictator*. Those that were *Cato's* Friends, saw what he drave at, and therefore perswade the Senate to make him *Consul* alone, that he might not bustle for the *Dictatorship*, but content himself with a more lawful sole Power. The Senate did it, and not only so, but they also prolonged the time of his Government over his Provinces; for he had two, *Spain*, and all *Africk*, which he governed by Deputies, and kept an Army there at the yearly charge of 1000 Talents, which he had out of the publick Treasury. This was the Reason that *Cæsar* sent to the Senate to demand the *Consulate*, and a prolongation of his Government likewise. To which *Pompey* at first said never a word, but *Marcellus* and *Lentulus*, who hated *Cæsar* upon another account, were against it, heaping all Stories together, pertinent or impertinent, that might defame or asperse him: for they took away the Freedom of *Rome* from the *Novacomians*, who were a Colony, that *Cæsar* had lately planted in *Gaule* near *Italy*, and *Marcellus*, who was then *Consul*, caused one of the Senators of that City, that came to *Rome*, to be whipp'd, and told him, that he laid that mark upon him, as being no Citizen of *Rome*, and bade him when he went back again to

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shew it *Cæsar*. But after *Marcellus's* *Consulate*, when *Cæsar* gave leave to all the chief Ministers of the Commonwealth, plentifully to furnish themselves with what Riches he had taken from the *Gaules*, had paid a great many Debts for *Curio*, *Tribune* of the People, and given *Paulus*, who was then *Consul*, 1500 <sup>900000</sup> Talents, wherewith he built and dedicated that Palace, (a noble Pile) which joyns to the Market-place, upon the Foundations of that which *Fulvius* formerly erected; then at last *Pompey* began to fear this manner of Proceeding, and therefore openly by himself and his Friends endeavour'd to have a Successor chosen, who might govern in *Cæsar's* room, and sent to re-demand those Souldiers whom he had lent him, to carry on the War in *Gaule*. *Cæsar* sent 'em back, and gave every Man of 'em 250 Drachms. But those that brought back these Souldiers, rais'd very improbable and unhandsom Reports among the People concerning *Cæsar*, and abused *Pompey* himself with vain hopes, and fond perswasions, that he was mightily with'd for by *Cæsar's* Army, and though his Affairs here were but in an ill posture by reason of the Envy that some bore to him, and the crafty Conduct of others, that concern'd themselves in the

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management of publick Business, he might assure himself, that there all the Army wou'd be at his service; and that if so be the Souldiers should once repass the Mountains, and return into *Italy*, they wou'd all come immediately and submit to him, so much they hated *Cæsar*, for the many tedious Expeditions which he engaged them to, beside the suspicion and fear which they had of him, that he aspired to a Monarchal Power. *Pompey* was swell'd with these vain Conceits, and fearing nothing, neglected all Preparations for the War, but thought to baffle *Cæsar* with words only and opinions, contrary to his Demands in the Senate, and to carry it against him by saying, *This or that is my opinion*; but *Cæsar* cared not for such things. Nay, not only he, but 'tis said, that one of his Captains, that was come to *Rome* about some Business of his, stood before the Senate-house one day, and hearing that the Senate wou'd not give *Cæsar* a longer time in his Government, clapp'd his Hand upon the Hilt of his Sword and said, *But this shall give it him if you win't*. Yet the Demands that *Cæsar* made, had the fairest and most honourable appearance imaginable; for he propos'd to lay down his Arms, and that if *Pompey* wou'd do so too, he wou'd be

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content that both of 'em together shou'd become private Men, and sue to the Citizens for their Reward: saying, that those who disarm'd him, and confirm'd the Power that *Pompey* had, calumniated him as though he wou'd fain be a Monarch, and at the same time gave *Pompey* the opportunity of being so. When *Curius* made these Offers to the People in *Cæsar's* Name, he was mightily applauded, and some threw Garlands upon him when he went away, as they do Flowers upon a Wrestler that gets the Victory at a Prize. And *Antonius*, the Tribune of the People, got *Cæsar's* Letter that he sent upon this occasion, brought it out, and read it to the People, in spite of the *Consuls*. But in the Senate-house, *Scipio*, *Pompey's* Father-in-law, declared his opinion to be, that if *Cæsar* did not lay down his Arms by such a day, he ought to be proclaimed an Enemy to the People of *Rome*. And when the *Consuls* demanded, whether the Senate thought fit that *Pompey* shou'd dismiss his Souldiers, and again whether *Cæsar* shou'd disband his, very few agreed to the first Question, but almost all to the latter. But when *Antonius* and his Party desired that they might both lay down their Commissions together, they were all of the same mind, and voted for it:

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and yet when *Scipio* was so vehement, and *Lentulus* the *Consul* cry'd aloud, that they had need of Arms, and not Suffrages against a Robber, they were adjourn'd for that time, and changed their Robes in token of grief for the Dissention. Afterward there came other Letters from *Cæsar*, that seemed still more reasonable, for he requested of them, that they wou'd give him only that part of *Gaul*, which is between the *Alpes* and *Italy*, *Sclavonia*, and two Legions, and he wou'd quit every thing else, till he stood for a second *Consulate*. And *Cicero*, the Orator, who was lately return'd from *Cilicia*, did what he cou'd to reconcile 'em, and much soften'd *Pompey*; who told him, that he was willing to grant all the other part of the Demand, saving the Souldiers. At last *Cicero* perswaded *Cæsar's* Friends to be content with the Government, and 6000 Souldiers only, that they might put an end to the Quarrel; to which *Pompey* himself complied and agreed, but *Lentulus* the *Consul*, and those of his Gang, wou'd not permit it, but drave *Antonius* and *Curio* out of the Senate with great Reproach and Ignominy. In which Action, they gave *Cæsar* the most plausible Pretence, that cou'd have been devised, to inflame the Souldiers, by

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shewing them two Men of such Worth and Esteem, who had been in the best publick Employments, and yet were forced to escape in a common hackney Cart, under the disguise of Slaves; for so they accoustred themselves, for fear, when they went out of *Rome*. Now there were not about him at that time above 300 Horse, and 5000 Foot; for the rest of his Army which he left beyond the *Alpes*, was to be brought after him by Officers that he had sent away for the same purpose. But seeing the first motion towards the Design, which he then enterprized, did not want much assistance at present, but rather was to be made by swift Surprise, so that the Enemy at the same time might admire his Courage, (because he thought it easier to confound 'em if he came upon 'em unawares, than to rout 'em when he had given 'em time to provide for him by his own tedious preparations) he commanded all his Captains, and other chief Officers, to go with only their Swords in their hands, without any other Arms, and take *Ariminum*, a great City in *Gaul* on this side the *Alpes*, with as little Noise and Bloodshed as was possible for 'em. Then he committed the care of the Army to *Hortensius*, and spent the day in publick, as a

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Stander-by and a Spectator to the Gladiators, that exercis'd before him. A little before night he bath'd, and then went into the Hall, where after he had convers'd for some short time with those he had invited to Supper, he found it grow dark, and rose from Table ; and having complemented all the rest, and desired 'em to stay for him, and be merry till he came back, he gave private Order to some few of his Familiars, that they shou'd follow him not all the same way, but some one way, some another. He himself got into an hackney Coach, and drove at first as if he had been going another way, but soon after turn'd toward *Ariminum*. When he came to the River, call'd *Rubicon*, which parts *Gaule* that is within the *Alpes* from the rest of *Italy*, he began to reason with himself, when he came near the point of hazard, and wavering in his mind, when he consider'd the greatness of the Enterprize, he stopp'd his career, and stay'd a while, revolving with himself, and changing his opinion one way and t'other, without saying one word. His Resolution alter'd many a time, and he debated the Matter with his Friends that were about him, ( of which number *Asinius Pollio* was one ) computing how many Calamities his passing that River

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wou'd bring upon Mankind, and what a Story they shou'd leave of it to Posterity. At last with more than ordinary vigour of Mind he forced himself out of all thoughts concerning the Event, and just as they do who set themselves upon dangerous and bold Adventures, he pronounced the old Proverb, *Fall back, fall edge*, I'll go on, and over he went. When he was over, he went all the way as fast as he cou'd drive, and came to *Ariminum*, and took it before Day-light. 'Tis said that the night before he pass'd the *Rubicon*, he had a wicked Dream, for he fancy'd, that he had carnal Copulation with his own Mother. As soon as *Ariminum* was taken, there was as it were a broad passage open'd to a War over not only all the Land, but the Sea too, and the *Roman* Laws were all confounded, and transgressed as well as the limits of his Province ; nor wou'd a man have thought that the Inhabitants only wander'd through *Italy* in a deep Consternation, as at any other time, but that the very Towns themselves removed their Stations, and fled for Succour into each other. So that the City of *Rome* was fill'd as with a Deluge, by the Removal and Conflux of neighbouring Countreys round about, nor was there any Magistrate that cou'd easily rule it, or any

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Orator that cou'd perswade it, but on it rowl'd, and amidst the tempestuous Waves of those Times, had almost been cast away even by it self. For contrary Affections, and violent Motions, possessed all Places, because the Party that was glad of these Disturbances, never was at quiet, but ran up and down the City, and when they met others many times, that shou'd themselves fearful or sorrowful, as in such a great Place they must needs do, they insulted over them, and quarrell'd about the event of all those Commotions. *Pompey* himself, who was sufficiently astonish'd before-hand, was yet more troubled on every side by one or other, who told him in reproachful language, that he suffer'd justly, for setting up *Cæsar* against himself and the Commonwealth; and some blamed him for refusing the honest and reasonable Offers that *Cæsar* made, when he was not bound to it, and letting him be so contumeliously treated by *Lentulus*. On the other side *Favonius* bid him stamp upon the ground; because he was so arrogant once in the Senate, to tell 'em, he wou'd not have them trouble themselves, nor take any care to make preparations for a War; he wou'd but only stamp, and call as many Legions together, as shou'd fill all *Italy*. Nevertheless *Pompey* at that time

time had a greater Army than *Cæsar*; but they wou'd not suffer him to take his own Measures, they brought him so many false Reports, and set so many frightful Objects before his Fancy; as if their Enemies had been just at the Gates of *Rome*, and made themselves absolute Masters of all; inso-much that he gave way to their Perswasions, and was born down by their weight. This made him take up a resolution to leave the City, when he saw things in such a Tumult; nor did he depart himself alone, but he commanded the Senate to follow him, and no body to stay behind, who did not prefer Tyranny before their Liberty and their Countrey. So the *Consuls* fled away, without making the ordinary Sacrifices, which they shou'd have done before their departure out of the City. And so did the greatest part of the Senators too, who took their own Goods in haste as they came to hand, and seem'd as much to rob themselves, as Thieves do other men. Besides that some who were formerly *Cæsar's* very good Friends, were so mightily dishearten'd at this wonderful Turn of Affairs, that they were carried away by the violence of the Torrent, without any Reason at all. But above all it was a most lamentable sight, to see the City in so great a Storm, like a Ship;

Ship, whose Pilot has given her over, and despairs of saving her from bilging against the next Rock. But though their departure hence was so calamitous, yet they lookt upon their Banishment to be their Countrey for *Pompey's* sake, and left *Rome*, as the Place where *Cæsar* would shortly incamp. Nay *Labienus* himself, who had been as familiar with *Cæsar* as any Friend he had, having been one of his Lieutenants, and his most valiant fellow-Souldier in all the *Gallick Wars*, forsok him, and went over to *Pompey*. He was no sooner gone, but *Cæsar* sent all his Equipage and Money after him, and so went and incamped before *Corfinium*, wherein was *Domitius* with 30 Companies. This same *Domitius* was a great Coward, and therefore despairing of his present Circumstances, he bid a Slave of his, that was a Physician, to give him some Poyson, and taking the Dose, he drank it down as one that made account to die of it : but soon after when he heard that *Cæsar* us'd a wonderful Clemency towards his Captives, he repented, and lamented for what he had done, and blamed the rashness of his own Resolution. His Physician encouraged him to be over good cheer, and told him, that he had drank only a sleepy, not a mortal Potion,

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at which he was very well pleas'd, and rising from his Bed went presently over unto *Cæsar*, and had his Pardon ; but after that revolted to *Pompey* again. When this News was reported at *Rome*, they gave a great satisfaction to those that were there, and many that were fled from thence, return'd back again. In the mean time *Cæsar* enroll'd *Domitius* Souldiers among his own, and detain'd all others which he caught in any Town list'd for *Pompey*. And now his Army was grown so numerous, and formidable, that he advanced toward *Pompey* himself : who durst not stay to receive him, but flying to *Brundisium*, sent the *Consuls* before with the Army to *Dyrrachium*, and himself a little after *Cæsar's* arrival, set to Sea, as we shall tell you more particularly in his Life. *Cæsar* would have follow'd him immediately, but that he wanted Shipping ; and therefore he went back to *Rome*, and was Lord of all *Italy*, without shedding one drop of blood, in 60 days. When he came to *Rome*, he found the City in better order than he expected, and a good many Senators there, to whom he spoke very courteously, and graciously, desiring them to send to *Pompey*, men that might treat with him about any reasonable Conditions, that might conduce

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to a Peace. But no body answer'd his Request, whether it was because they fear'd *Pompey*, whom they had deserted, or that they believed, *Cæsar* did not think what he said, but us'd this specious language only for a Cloak to his Actions. But afterward, when *Metellus* the Tribune wou'd needs have hinder'd him from taking Money out of the publick Treasury, and alledged certain Laws against it, *Cæsar* replied, *That the time of War was very different from that wherein Laws were executed; and as for thy part, if thou art offended at what I do, get you farther from me, for War does not allow such liberty of Speech; but when I have laid down my Arms, and we have appointed a Meeting, then thou shalt come and make as many popular Harangues as thou wilt; and this* (said he) *I tell you, to the diminution of my own Right; for indeed thou thy self art mine, and all those that rose against me, whom I have taken.* Having said so to *Metellus*, he went to the door of the Treasury, but could not find the Keys, and so he sent for Locksmiths, and bid 'em break 'em open. *Metellus* made Resistance a second time, and was commended for it by some that stood by, whilst *Cæsar* spoke aloud, and threatened to kill him if he wou'd not be quiet, and let him alone; and to confirm it, told him,

him, *Young Man*, (said he) *you know very well, 'tis harder for me to say I will, than to do it.* These words made not only *Metellus* withdraw at that time, for fear of him, but were the cause of his being easily and speedily furnish'd with all things necessary for the War. Now he was then going to make War in *Spain*, with a resolution first to remove *Afranius* and *Varro*, *Pompey's* Lieutenants, and when he got the Army and the Provinces into his own hands, then to go forward against *Pompey* himself, when he had ne'r an Enemy left behind him. And though in this Expedition he was often in bodily danger by Ambuscades that the Enemies laid for him, and had like to have lost his Army for want of Provisions, (which was his greatest Misfortune) yet he never left pursuing, provoking to fight, or besieging them, till by main strength he had made himself Master of all their Camps, and all their Forces, except some Officers, that escaped and fled to *Pompey*. When *Cæsar* was come back to *Rome*, *Piso*, his father in-law, desired him to send Ambassadors to *Pompey*, to treat of a Peace; but *Isauricus*, to gratifie *Cæsar*, was against it. *Cæsar* was after chosen Dictator by the Senate, and thereupon he call'd

home all those that were banish'd, and gave Honours to all the Children of such as had suffer'd under *Sylla*; relieved those that were in Debt, by retrenching some part of the common Usury, and made an Attempt toward some other the like Ordinances, but not many. For he was not Dictator above 11 days before he renounc'd his Office, and having declared himself Consul with *Servilius Isauricus*, went as soon as he cou'd into the Campaign. And indeed he made so much haste, that he left all his Army behind him except 600 chosen Horse and 5 Legions, with which he put to Sea in the very middle of Winter, about the beginning of the Month *January*, which the *Athenians* call *Pesideon*. And when he had passed the *Ionian Sea*, he took *Oricum* and *Apollonia*, and sent the Ships away back again to *Brundisium*, to bring over the Souldiers that cou'd not travel so fast as he did. Those Souldiers, as they were upon the Road, being very much wasted in their Bodies, and tired with the fatigue of engaging so many Enemies, accused *Cæsar* after this manner: *When at last, and in what Place will this man let us be at quiet, who carries us about, and uses us as though we were not to be worn out, or inanimate Creatures? Even Iron it self will yield to*

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*Blows, and 'tis but reason that a Buckler and Cuirass which has been used so long, shou'd be at last laid by: does not Cæsar consider from our Wounds, that we are mortal men which he commands, and that we are subject to all Calamities and Diseases as other Mortals are? He knows very well, that 'tis impossible for a God to force the Winter-season, or hinder the Winds and the Storms, when they arise, yet he runs headlong upon danger, and will put to Sea, as if he were not following, but flying from an Enemy, and does as rash things, whilst he pursues his Foe, as a man wou'd do that runs away from him. This was their Discourse, as they travell'd fair and softly toward *Brundisium*. But when they came thither, and found that *Cæsar* had already set Sail before 'em, they presently changed their Notes, and chid themselves, as Traitors to their General. They blamed their Captains too, for not hastening their March; and sitting down upon the Promontories and the Rocks, that look over the Sea into *Epirus*, lookt out to see if they cou'd ken the Vessels, that were to carry them to *Cæsar*. In the mean time *Cæsar* was in the City *Apollonia*, who because he had not an Army with him, that were fit to fight the Enemy, for that the Forces from *Brundisium* were so long coming, was in suspense.*

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and knew not what to do. At last he took a dangerous Resolution, to go in a Vessel of 12 Oars, without any bodies knowledge, over to *Brundisium*, though the Enemies had cover'd the Sea with such a vast Navy. So he embarked in the night-time under the habit of a Slave, and lay down in the Frigate, as if he had been some mean, inconsiderable Fellow, without saying one word to any body. The Vessel was in the River *Anius*, which was most commonly very calm and navigable at the mouth of it, by the help of a gentle Gale that uled every morning to blow from the Land, and carry Ships to Sea, by bearing back the Waves, that might otherwise hinder their passage. But this night by chance there blew a strong Wind from the Sea, which rebated that from the Land; so that the River swelled and grew rough by the resistance of the Tide and the Waves which flow'd against it, nor cou'd the Pilot tell how to steer, the noise of the Water and the dangerous Whirlpools did so confound him. Wherefore he bade the Sailers tack about, and sail back again. When *Cæsar* saw that, he discover'd himself, and taking the Master of the Vessel by the Hand, who was amazed to see him there, bade him, *Go on boldly, Friend, and fear nothing,*

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thou carriest *Cæsar* and his Fortune along with thee. The Mariners, when they heard that, forgot the danger of the Storm, and laying all their strength to their Oars, did what they cou'd to force a passage out of the Channel. But seeing all was to no purpose, and that the Vessel leaked mightily, *Cæsar*, who saw himself in so great danger just at the Rivers mouth, permitted the Master to tack about, though fore against his will. And when he return'd to his Camp, his Souldiers came to him in whole Troops, and said, they took it very ill, that he shou'd think he was not strong enough to get a Victory by their sole Assistance, but must needs trouble himself, and expose his Person to hazard, for the sake of those who were absent, because he was distrustful of the Men he had with him. In the mean time *Antonius* comes over with the remaining part of the Forces from *Brundisium*; which gave new Courage to *Cæsar*, and made him offer Battel to *Pompey*. Now *Pompey* was incamped very commodiously, in a Place where he had plenty of Provisions both from Sea and Land; whilst *Cæsar*, who had no great store of Forage at the first, was at last extreemly pinch'd for want of Necessaries: so that his Souldiers were fain to cut up a kind

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of Root, which they found, and ate it with Milk; yea, they made Loaves of it, and sometimes when they made an Excursion upon the Enemies Van-guard, they would throw those Loaves over into the Trenches, and tell them, that as long as the Earth produced such Roots, they would not leave off besieging Pompey. But he kept both the Loaves and the Words from reaching the Camp, lest his Souldiers should have been dishearten'd and affrighted at the brutish hardiness of their Enemies, as much as at the savage nature of wild Beasts. There were continual Skirmishes about Pompey's Out-works, in all which Caesar had the better, excepting one time, when his Men were put into such Disorder, and forced to fly for it, in such a manner, that he had like to have lost his Camp. For when Pompey sallied out upon 'em, they could not sustain the Attack, and so were forced to quit their Station, and retire fighting even to their own Camp; whereof the Trenches were fill'd with dead Bodies, besides that many fell upon the very Bulwarks and Fortifications, whilst they were swiftly pursu'd, and fled as swiftly from the Enemy. Caesar met 'em, and would have turn'd 'em back again, but could not prevail: for when he endeavour'd to seize the

the Ensigns, that he might by that means stop 'em, the Ensign-bearers threw 'em down, which was the occasion that the Enemies took 32 of them. Caesar himself escaped killing very narrowly: for taking hold of a great lusty Fellow, that ran by him, he bid him stay, and turn his Face to his Enemies; but the Fellow was so concern'd for the Danger that he was in, that he laid his Hand upon his Sword, as if he would have struck Caesar: but Caesar's Squire prevented him, and cut off his Arm. And truly Caesar's Affairs were in so desperate a condition at that time, that seeing Pompey did not finish that great Work, either through Fear or Misfortune, but went back to his own Camp, after he had shut his Enemies up in theirs, Caesar return'd and said to his Familiars, *The Victory to day had been on our Enemies side, if they had a General that knew how to conquer.*

As soon as he was come to his Tent, he laid him down, but spent that night in the greatest Disorder, and most perplex'd Thoughts, as ever any, to think how imprudent he was in the manage of the War, who when he had a large and plentiful Countrey before him, near all the wealthy Cities of *Macedonia* and *Thessaly*, yet should omit to make that the Seat of War,

War, and sit down here by the Sea-shore, whilst his Enemies had such a Fleet, and seem rather to be besieged with Want and Scarcity, than to besiege his Adversaries with Force and Arms. And being thus distracted with anxious Thoughts, concerning the necessitous and difficult Circumstances of his present Affairs, he raised his Camp, with a design to remove toward *Scipio*, who lay in *Macedonia*; supposing that he shou'd either draw *Pompey* from the Sea, and force him to engage, in a Place where he might not be furnish'd with so much Plenty, or that he shou'd easily defeat *Scipio*, if no body came to his Assistance. This encouraged *Pompey's* Officers, and their whole Army, so much that they wou'd needs follow *Cæsar*, as if he had been defeated and fled. But *Pompey* himself was too wise to hazard a Battel of so great consequence, and therefore seeing himself provided with all Necessaries for a considerable time, had a mind to tire out, and consume by tract of time, the Vigour of *Cæsar's* Army, which he knew cou'd not endure long. For though the best and the most warlike part of *Cæsar's* Army had not only Skill, Experience, and Courage irresistible to flight, yet the toil of running up and down, removing their Camp so often,

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making Assaults, and watching all night in their Arms, was too great for them to sustain, because they were old, stiff, and unfit for Labour, and consequently their Courage was lessen'd by their weakness. Besides, they say, that a pestilential Disease, caused by their ill Diet, was very rife in *Cæsar's* Army; and (which was worst of all) that he had neither Money nor Victuals to preserve himself, inso-much that he must have perished in a short time even of his own accord. For this Reason *Pompey* wou'd not fight him; but was commended for it by none but *Cato*, who was of the same opinion, because he had a mind to prevent Bloodshed among his fellow-Citizens. For when he saw the dead Bodies of the Enemies, that were slain in the last Battel, and were a 1000 in number, he went away, cover'd his Face, and wept. All the rest blamed *Pompey*, as if he had been afraid to fight, and in provoking language call'd him *Agamemnon*, and the *King of Kings*; insinuating, that he had no mind to lay down his sovereign Authority, but hugg'd himself to think, that so many great Commanders shou'd depend upon him, and wait continually at his Tent. And *Favonius*, in imitation of *Cato's* frank manner of speaking, complain'd grievously, that they

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they shou'd eat no *Tuscalane* Figs that year, for the Ambition that *Pompey* had to reign alone. *Afranius* also, who was newly come out of *Spain*, where because he had ill success in his VVars, he was accus'd as if he had betray'd the Army to *Cæsar* for Money, ask'd *Pompey*, Why he did not fight that same Merchant, who bought the Provinces of him? till at last *Pompey* was forced by this kind of language to go after *Cæsar*, and give him Battel against his own Inclination. In the meantime *Cæsar* had an hard Journey of it, because he could not get Provisions for Love or Money, but all People despised him, upon account of the Defeat, which he had lately received: till he took *Gomphi*, a City of *Thessaly*, he not only got Provisions for his Army, but strangely recover'd 'em from their Distemper. For they met with plenty of VVine, which they drank very freely, and spending their time as they march'd along, in nothing else but Feasting, Fudling, and Dancing, they drave out the Disease, and cured themselves by pure Topping, and changed the very Constitution of their Bodies. But as soon as they both came into *Pharsalia*, and were incamped there, *Pompey* resumed his former resolution of not fighting, and that so much the rather, be-

because he had many unlucky Presages, and ill Visions in his Sleep. For he fancy'd he saw himself applauded by the *Romans* \* in his own Theatre, and that he adorn'd the Temple of *Venus Victrix*, with many Spoils; which Dream of his did much abate his Courage, fearing it wou'd not signify, that she shou'd be ever the more renowned or worshipped, for the Victory and the Spoils that he shou'd gain from *Cæsar*, whose Family was descended from that Goddess. In the meantime there were men about him, who had so good an opinion of the success of this War, that they anticipated the Victory by their strong Hopes. Nay *Domitius*, *Spinther*, and *Scipio*, were so cocksure, that they quarrell'd who shou'd be chief-Priest, or *Pontifex*, in the room of *Cæsar*. And many sent to *Rome* to hire and secure Houses before-hand, that stood convenient and were fit for *Consuls* and *Prætors* to live in, as if they had been all to be put in Office, as soon as the War was over. But the young Gentlemen, and the *Roman* Knights, were most desirous to fight, as being very well mounted and array'd in shining Armour, upon stout, neat, well-fed Horses, of whom they were very proud; as likewise of their numbers; for they were 5000, against 1000 of *Cæsar's*.

\* Here this Life is descriptive, but supplied out of Pompey's.



far's. Nor were their Infantry any thing equal, but there were 45000 of *Pompey's*, against 22000 of *Cæsar's* side. For this Reason *Cæsar* call'd his Souldiers together, and told 'em, that *Cornificius* was hard-by with two Legions, which he would bring thither, and that some 15 Companies more were planted about *Megara* and *Athens*; and ask'd them, whether they would rather stay till those Supplies came up, or run the risque of fighting by themselves? At which they set up a Shout, and desired him not to stay, but rather contrive and do what in him lay to meet the Enemy as soon as might be. Here-upon he sacrificed to the Gods for a Lustration, or Purification of his Army, and had no sooner kill'd the first Victim, but his Soothfayer presently told him, that he shou'd joyn Battel with the Enemy in three days. And when *Cæsar* ask'd him, *Whether he saw any thing in the Entrails that portended an happy Event?* he told him, *You may answer that best your self; for the Gods do signifie a great Alteration and Vicissitude, contrary to the present state of Affairs; and therefore if you think your self happy at this time, expect worse Fortune, but if unhappy, then look for better.* The night before the Battel, as he walkt the Rounds, about midnight there appear'd a Light in the

the Heaven, very bright and flaming, which pass'd over *Cæsar's* Camp, and seem'd to fall into *Pompey's*, and about that time in the morning when they reliev'd the Watch, *Cæsar's* Souldiers perceiv'd a panick Fear among the Enemies. Nevertheless *Cæsar* did not think to fight that day, but removed his Camp, with a design to go toward the City of *Scotusa*. But when the Tents were taken down, his Scouts came to him and told him, that the Enemy was preparing for the Battel. At which he was very much pleas'd, and having done his Devotion to the Gods, he set his Army in Batallia, dividing them into three Bodies. Over the middlemost he placed *Domitius Calvinus*; *Antonius* had the left Wing, and himself the right, because he had a mind to fight in the 10th. Legion. Against which when he saw the Enemy had planted all their Cavalry, he fear'd their first Onset, they were so many, and so bravely equipp'd; and therefore privately commanded six Companies of the Rear to march up to him, whom he placed behind his right Wing, and taught them what they shou'd do, when the Enemies Horse came to charge. On the other side *Pompey* likewise led the right VVing, *Domitius* the left, and *Scipio*, *Pompey's* Father-in-law,

commanded the middle, or main Battel, or the Front. Now all the *Roman* Knights and the young Gentlemen had put themselves in the left VVing, with a design to envelope the right VVing of *Cæsar's* Army, and to make their briskest Attack upon that part where the General's Post was. For they did not believe, that there cou'd be a Batallion of Foot so deep, as to sustain the Shock of so mighty a Body of Horse, but that they would be easily broken and dissipated upon the first Effort. VVhen on both sides they were ready to give the Signal, *Pompey* commanded that the Infantry, who were in the Van, should keep in their due Order, and attend the first Onset of their Enemies, till they came within a Javelin's cast. But *Cæsar* said, upon this occasion, that he was mightily mistaken, as being ignorant, that the first Charge, if it be swift and fierce, is consequently formidable, because it not only adds Vigour to the Blows they give, but kindles a kind of Ardour in the Mind, which is blown into a Flame, by the common uniform Motion of 'em all. Well; after these things were consider'd of and transacted, *Cæsar* was ready to march, and go to work, but chanced to see, in his way, one of his Captains, that was a trusty Servant, and a good Soul-

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dier, encouraging his Men with all Arguments to fight it out bravely. *Cæsar* call'd him by his Name, and ask'd him, *Caius Crassinius*, says he, *what Hopes have we, what Encouragement?* At which *Crassinius* stretch'd out his right Hand, and told him in a very loud voice; *We Cæsar,* (says he) *shall obtain a glorious Victory this day, and you shall praise me alive or dead before night.* And having just spoken those words, he made the first Attack upon the Enemy, with sixscore Souldiers that follow'd him: who when he had broken in upon the Front, and cut them in pieces, forced his way forward with great slaughter of the Enemy, till he was at length stopp'd by a Wound with a Sword, that went in at his Mouth with such strength, as that the point came out at his Neck behind. And whilst the Foot of *Cæsar's* right Wing were engaged, and fighting in the main Battel, *Pompey's* Horse in his left Wing marcht up very confidently, and spread their Troops in wide Banks, that they might surround the right Wing of *Cæsar*. But before they came to charge, the six Companies that *Cæsar* had placed behind him for a Supply, ran upon them, and did not throw their javelins at a distance, as they used to do, but strike them on the Thighs or the

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Legs.

Legs, as when they fought Hand to Hand, but made at their Eyes, and wounded them in the Face. For *Cæsar* had instructed them so to do, because he thought that young Gentlemen (as those in *Pompey's* left Wing were) who had not been much conversant with War and Wounds, but were in the flower of their Age and their Beauty too, wou'd stand in greatest fear of such Wounds, and not stay till the Battel was over, not only because they were in imminent danger at the present, but might doubt they shou'd be deformed for the time to come. And so it fell out; for they cou'd not endure the Javelins shou'd be presented to their Visage, but wink'd for fear when they saw the shining Iron so near their Eyes, and therefore to save them, they turn'd their Backs, and cover'd all their Faces. At length they put themselves in such a Confusion, that they were fain to fly for it, and shamefully lost the day; for immediately those who defeated them, surrounded the Infantry, and falling upon the Rear, cut 'em all in picces. As soon as *Pompey* saw the Horse on the other Wing of his Army routed, and flying, he was no longer the same Person, nor did he remember that he was *Pompey the Great*, but like one from whom the Gods have taken his Under-

derstanding, or one astonish'd at some fatal Overthrow caused by divine Power, he went away into his Tent without saying one word, and there sat him down to expect the Event, until the whole Army was routed, and the Enemies came upon the Rampire that went about his Camp, and fought Hand to Fist with those that defended it. Then he seemed to come to himself, and when he had (as they say) let fall this short Question only; *What? do they come into my very Camp?* he put off all his Cloaths that he wore in the Wars as a General, and changing them for such as might be suitable for one that was to make his Escape, went privately out of the Camp. What Fortune he met with afterward, and how he committed himself into the Hands of *Ægyptians* that slew him, we tell you in his Life.

When *Cæsar* was come into *Pompey's* Camp, and saw the Bodies of some of his Enemies that were already dead, lying at his Feet, and some that they were yet a killing, he said with a Groan, *This they would needs have, this they forced me to do, though I who have won so many Battels, shou'd notwithstanding be condemn'd, if I deserted my Army.* *Asinius Pollio* says, that *Cæsar* spoke these words at that time

in *Latin*, which he since wrote in *Greek*: and more, he says, that most of those that were kill'd at the taking of the Camp, were Servants, and that there fell not above 6000 Souldiers. *Cæsar* mixt most of the Foot that he took Prisoners, among his own Legions; and pardon'd many Persons of Quality, among whom *Brutus*, who afterward kill'd him, was one. And they say, that after the Battel, when *Brutus* did not suddenly appear, that he was in great trouble for him, but was very glad when he saw him safe, and come to submit himself into his Hands. There were many Prodigies that did foretel this Victory; but the most signal one of all was that which is reported to have happen'd about the City of *Tralles*. There was in the Temple of *Victory* the Statue of *Cæsar*, and the Earth thereabout was not only hard in its own nature, but it was also paved with Stone much harder; and yet they say, that a Palm-tree sprang from near the base of this Statue. And in the City of *Padua*, one *Caius Cornelius*, who had good skill in Augury, and was a Countreyman and Friend of *T. Livius* the Historian, happen'd to make some augural Observations that very day when the Battel was fought. And first (as *Livius* tells us) he found out the time of the

the Fight, and told those that were by him, that at that time the Matter was in action, and the Armies engaged. But when he look'd again upon the Birds, and well observ'd the Omens, or Signs, he leap'd as if he had been inspir'd, and cry'd out, *Thou, Cæsar, art the Conqueror*. At which they that were present stood in Amaze, whilst he took the Crown off which he had on his Head, and swore, that he would not put it on any more, till the thing it self had born witness to his Art. This *Livie* affirms for a Truth. In the mean time *Cæsar* gave the *Thessalians* a perfect Immunity from all Impositions, as an acknowledgement to the Gods for the Victory which he had gain'd in their Countrey, and so went in pursuit of *Pompey*. And when he arrived in *Asia*, he enfranchis'd the *Guidians* also, to gratifie *Theopompus*, who made a Collection of Fables, and remitted the third part of their Taxes to all the *Asiaticks*. When he came to *Alexandria*, where *Pompey* was already murder'd, he had his Head brought to him, but turn'd away, and would not look upon *Theodotus*, that presented it: yet he took his Ring and wept over it, as a Relick of so great a Man; for whom also he had so much Honour, that he was very beneficent and obliging to all his

Friends and Associates, that were taken by the King of *Ægypt*, as they straggled about his Countrey. And he wrote Letters to *Rome*, wherein he let his Correspondents understand, that the greatest benefit or pleasure that he enjoy'd from that Victory, was, that he daily sav'd several Citizens Lives, that had fought against him. As to his War in *Ægypt*, some say, it was inglorious and dangerous to him, tho' by no means necessary, but made only for the Love he bore to *Cleopatra*. Others blame the King's Ministers, and especially *Photinus* the Eunuch, who being in greatest Authority, and having lately taken *Pompey* off, and banish'd *Cleopatra* from the Court, did privately consult how he might do as much by *Cæsar*: for which Reason, *Cæsar*, they say, from that time forward, began to sit up all night at Banquets, that he might have an excuse for keeping a Guard about him, for fear of any Attempt upon his Person. But indeed this *Photinus* was an intolerable Fellow, that said and did many invidious and contumelious things against *Cæsar* openly, without any disguise: for when *Cæsar's* Soldiers had the worst and the oldest Corn divided among them, he told 'em, they must be patient and endure it, as long as they

they liv'd upon anothers Cost. He was serv'd at his Table in wooden and earthen Dishes, because, he said, *Cæsar* had gotten all the gold and silver Vessels for a

χλίας ἐπικροτίας πηνήμοντα μυριαδίας.

Debt of one million seven hundred and fifty thousand Crowns, which the then King of *Ægypt's* Father owed him. Of which Debt, *Cæsar* had formerly remitted the seven hundred and fifty thousand Crowns to his Children, but thought fit to demand the million at that time to maintain his Army withal. But *Photinus* told him, That he had better go then, and mind his other Affairs of greater Consequence, and that he shoud have his Debt another time, with the King of *Ægypt's* Favour into the Bargain; to which *Cæsar* reply'd, That he did not want *Ægyptians* to advise him in the least, and thereupon he privately sent for *Cleopatra* out of the Countrey where she was. She no sooner received the Message, but she took a little Boat, and a Confident of hers, one *Apollodorus* a *Sicilian*, along with her, and by that time it was dark night, came and landed near the Palace. But when she came thither, she could not tell how to get in without being dis-

cover'd, till she found out this Invention: She got into a Bed-tick, and lay all along, whilst *Apollodorus* bound up the Bedding with a strong leather Thong, and carry'd it on his Back through the Castle gates into the Place where *Cæsar* was. Now they say, that *Cæsar* was first taken with this Contrivance of *Cleopatra*, because it was an Argument of Wit in her: but afterward, when he was acquainted with her obliging Carriage, and the sweetness of her Conversation, he was so charm'd, that he reconcil'd her to her Brother, and that upon condition, that she shou'd be his Partner in the Kingdom. Soon after that, when they were all a feasting for joy of this Reconciliation, a Servant of *Cæsar's*, that was his Barber, who was the most fearful Creature that ever was born, and therefore wou'd enquire, and hearken, and pry into every thing, found out that there was a Plot laid against *Cæsar* by *Achilles*, who was General of the King's Forces, and *Photinus* the Eunuch. Which when *Cæsar* understood, he set a Guard upon the Hall where the Feast was kept, and kill'd *Photinus*. But *Achilles* was too quick for him, and escap'd to the Camp, and rais'd a War against *Cæsar*, which was not only troublesom, but very difficult for him

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him to undertake, who was to resist so great a City and such great Forces with so small a number of Men. The first Misfortune that he met with in this War, was, that he wanted Water; for the Enemies had stopp'd the Conduits which shou'd have convey'd it to him. The second was, That seeing his Enemies had a mind to cut off his Communication with his naval Forces, he was constrain'd to remove that Danger by Fire, which when it had burnt the Harbour where the Ships lay, burnt also that famous Library of *Alexandria*. The third was, That in the Sea-fight which happen'd near the *Pharus*, *Cæsar* leap'd off the Mole into a little Skiff, to help his Souldiers that were a fighting. And when the *Egyptians* made up to him on every side, he threw himself into the Sea, and with much ado swam, and got from 'em. At which time, they say, he had a great many Papers in his Hand, yet though the Enemy shot at him, and made him duck, yet he did not lose them, but held 'em above the Water with one Hand, and swam with the other; but his Skiff was soon founde'r'd. At last, when the King was revolted to the Enemies, he went against him, engaged, and conquer'd him; in which Battel there were ma-

many slain, nor was the King himself ever seen since. Wherefore *Cæsar* having left *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt*, who not long after had a Child of his getting, whom the *Alexandrians* call'd *Cæsarion*, he went into *Syria*. From thence he pass'd into *Asia minor*, where he heard that *Domitius* was beaten by *Pharnaces*, the Son of *Mithridates*, and was fled out of *Pontus* with a small number of Men: And that *Pharnaces* pursu'd his Victory with such an unsatiable desire, that though he had gotten *Bithynia* and *Cappadocia*, yet he wou'd needs make himself Master also of *Armenia* the less, as 'tis call'd; in order whereunto he animated all the Kings and Potentates in those Parts to take up Arms against the *Romans*. *Cæsar* therefore with three Legions immediately march'd toward him; and about the City of *Zela* engag'd him in a fierce Battel, totally defeated his Army, and drave him out of *Pontus*. And that he might the better express the sharpness and the quick dispatch of this Fight, in his Letter to *Rome*, he wrote to a Friend of his, call'd *Amincius*, only these three words, *I came, I saw, I overcame*: which words in the *Latin* contain a graceful sort of brevity, because they have the same Termination, which cannot be met with in another

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Language. After he had done his Business there, he went over into *Italy*, and came to *Rome* at the end of that year, for which he was the second time chosen Dictator, (though this Office had never been annual before his Time) and was elected *Consul* for the year ensuing. But he was mightily blamed for one thing; and that was, when his Souldiers mutin'd and kill'd *Cosconius* and *Galba*, two Persons fit to be *Prætors*, he laid no other punishment upon them, than calling 'em Citizens instead of fellow-Souldiers, and distributed to every man an hundred Crowns, besides a great deal of Land in *Italy*, which he divided among them. Nor was *Dolabella's* Insolence, *Amincius's* Covetousness, *Antony's* Drunkenness, or *Cornificius's* Prodigality, (who demolished *Pompey's* House only to build it larger, because it was not big enough for *Cæsar* to dwell in) any small Reflection upon him; for the *Romans* were very much concern'd at these things. But notwithstanding the compassing of his Ends, *Cæsar* was forced to make use of such Men as might be serviceable to him in his Design, though he was neither ignorant what they did, nor willing they shou'd do so. After the Battel of *Pharsalia*, *Cato* and *Scipio* fled into *Africa*, and there with the

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Assistance of King *Juba*, they made up a very considerable Army ; whereupon *Cæsar* resolved to go and make War against them. Accordingly about the middle of Winter he went over into *Sicily*, and to remove from his Officers all hopes of delay and lingering there, he pitch'd his Tent upon the Sea shore, and as soon as the Wind stood fair for him, imbarqued for *Africa* with three thousand Foot, and a few Horse : whom when he had landed, he sail'd back again without their knowledge, because he was afraid lest any ill shou'd happen to the rest, who were the greater part of his Army ; but he met them upon the Sea, and brought 'em all to the same Camp. He had not been long there, before he heard that his Enemies relyed mightily upon an ancient Oracle, which told 'em, that it was fatal for the Family of the *Scipio's* to be always victorious in *Africa*. Now it is hard to say, whether he did it out of a Jeer to *Scipio*, who commanded his Enemies, or with an intent to apply the Omen to himself ; but this he did : There was a certain Person in his Army, who was otherwise contemptible and neglected, but of the House of the *Africani*, and his Name *Scipio Sallutio*. Him *Cæsar* set in the Head of his Army, and made him govern as a

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General. He was forced to engage and fight very often ; for he had neither provision of Corn for his Men, nor forage for his Beasts, but they were necessitated to gather Sea-weed, which when they had wash'd out the salt juyce of it, they mingled with a little Dogs-Tooth, to make it the more savoury, and so gave it to their Horses : for the *Numidians*, who appear in great Numbers, and are swift Horsemen, were in possession of the Countrey round about, insomuch that they durst not go abroad into the Fields for Forage. But one day when *Cæsar's* Horse had nothing else to do, they were looking upon a certain *African* that danc'd to them, and at the same time play'd upon the Pipe to a miracle. At which being mightily pleas'd, they sate them down, and gave their Servants their Horses to hold, till the Enemy in the mean time surrounding of 'em made a sudden Attack, and killing some of them, pursu'd the rest, till they both enter'd pell-mell into *Cæsar's* Camp : and had it not been for *Cæsar* himself, and *Asinius Pollio* who came out of the Camp, had not assisted them and stopp'd their flight, the War had been ended that day. Besides this there was another Rencounter, where the Enemy had the better ; but *Cæsar*, they say, took the Ensign, or

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Eagle-bearer by the Neck, as he was running away, and turning him back, said to him, *The Enemies are here on this side you.* Scipio was encouraged by these successful Beginnings, and wou'd decide the Quarrel in a pitcht Battel. Wherefore deserting *Afranius* on the one side, and *Juba* on the other, who were incamped not far from him, nor from one another, he built a Fort near the City of *Thapsagus*, upon the Lake, which might serve for a security to them, and be a convenient Place of Retreat and Refuge in time of the Battel. Whilst *Scipio* was at work about these things, *Cæsar* passed with incredible celerity through woody Places and obscure Ways, and circumventing some of 'em, he set upon the rest as he met 'em, till he had routed them all, and put 'em to flight. After which Action he made use of the opportunity, and the tract of his good Fortune, by whose Assistance at one moment he took the Camp of *Afranius*, and laid waste that of the *Numidians*, whilst *Juba* their King ran away; insomuch that in one little piece of a day, having made himself Master of three Camps, and kill'd fifty thousand of his Enemies, he did not lose fifty of his own Men. This is the Account that some give of that Fight; though others

others say, he was not concern'd in the Action, but that he was taken with his usual Distemper, just as he was setting his Army in Batalia. Now his Distemper was the Falling-sickness, which he at that time perceiv'd as soon as it was coming upon him, before his Senses were totally confounded and taken away by it, and therefore caused himself to be carried into a Fort, hard by the Place where the Fight was, just as he began to shake, and there repos'd himself till the Fit was over. Of those that fled from this Battel, who were Men fit to be *Consuls* or *Prætors*, some were taken, but at the same time kill'd themselves, and many more, who were Prisoners, *Cæsar* slew. But he had a desire to have *Cato* in his own keeping alive, and therefore hasten'd to *Utica*, a City that *Cato* had undertaken to defend, by reason of which he was not in the Battel. When he came thither, he understood that *Cato* had kill'd himself; at which he seem'd very much disturb'd; but why, 'tis uncertain: yet this he said, *Cato! I envy thee thy Death, because thou enviedst me the glory of saving thy Life.* Nevertheless the Discourse that he wrote against him afterward, when he was dead, is no great sign of his Kindness, or that he was thoroughly reconcil'd to him; for

*indignationem.*

for how cou'd he have pardon'd him alive; that pour'd out so much Choler against him when he was dead? But by his Clemency to *Cicero*, *Brutus*, and an infinite others that fought against him, some People guess that the fore-mention'd Discourse was not compos'd out of any Hatred to *Cato*, but through the Impulse of politick Ambition, and that upon this account. *Cicero*, you must know, had written an Encomium upon *Cato*, and call'd his Book *Cato*: now this Discourse, you may easily imagine, was read by every one, as being written by the best and most acute of Orators, upon the most excellent Subject. This vex'd *Cæsar*, who thought the Commendations which were given to *Cato*, who dy'd upon his account, were but so many Accusations against him. He therefore made a Collection of many Imputations against *Cato*, which he wrote in a Book call'd *Anti-Cato*: and both these Discourses have their several Advocates, and those not a few, to defend them; some upon *Cæsar's* account, and others for the sake of *Cato*. But when he return'd out of *Africk* to *Rome*, he first made a great Harangue to the People concerning his Victory there, and told em, that he had conquer'd a Countrey, that wou'd supply the Publick every year with

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with two hundred thousand Bushels of Corn, and thirty hundred thousand pound weights of Oyl. After which he triumph'd three times: first, for his Victory in *Egypt*: secondly, for that in *Pontus*: and thirdly, for that in *Africa*, not over *Scipio*, but King *Juba* you must understand. And at the same time, *Juba's* Son, who was but a little Boy, was led in Triumph: which was the happiest Captivity that ever man suffer'd; for it gave him the opportunity of being so well bred, that instead of a barbarous *Numidian*, he was reckon'd among the most learn'd Historians of all *Greece*. After his Triumphs, he distributed great Presents to his Souldiers, and treated the People with feasting and Shews: for he entertain'd the People at one Feast, where there were twenty two thousand Tables, and gave em the diversion of seeing a great many Gladiators and Sea-fights, in Honour of his Daughter *Julia*, who had been long dead. And when these Shews were over, he took an Account of the People, who being number'd by the *Censors*, were found to be only an hundred and fifty thousand, instead of three hundred and twenty thousand, as they were before: so great a Calamity had the Civil War brought upon the Nation, and con-

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sumed such a considerable part of the *Roman* People ; not to mention the Misfortunes that the other Parts of *Italy*, and several Provinces of the Empire underwent. Having accomplish'd all these things , he was chosen *Consul* a fourth time, and went into *Spain* to make War against *Pompey's* Sons ; who though they were but young, yet they had gotten together a wonderful great Army, and shew'd they had Courage and Conduct enough to command it ; insomuch that *Cæsar* was in extream danger. But the great Battel was near the City of *Munda* ; in which *Cæsar*, when he saw his Men ready to give back, and that they had much ado to stand to it, he ran through the Ranks among the Souldiers, and crying out he ask'd 'em, If they were not ashamed to take him and deliver him into the Hands of Children ? At last with all the Resolution that he had about him, he made a shift to repel the Enemy, killing about thirty thousand of them, though he lost one thousand of the best Men himself had. When he came back from the Fight, he told his Familiars, that he had often fought at other times for a Victory, but that this was the first time that ever he fought for his Life. He won this Battel upon the day that the *Bacchanalia* are kept,

kept, upon which Feast-day, *Pompey* the Great is also reported to have set forth from *Rome*, when he went to raise the Civil Wars ; but there were four years pass'd between this and that. As to these Sons of *Pompey*, the younger of 'em escaped ; and *Didius*, some few days after the Fight, brought the Elder's Head unto *Cæsar* ; and this was the last War that *Cæsar* waged. But the triumphal Entry that he made for this Victory, displeas'd the *Romans* more than any thing else, because he had not defeated foreign Captains, or barbarous Kings, but had quite destroy'd and ruin'd both the Children and the Family of one that was the greatest Man in *Rome*, though he had hard fortune. Wherefore they did not think it fitting, that he shou'd triumph over the Calamities of his Countrey, and rejoyce in those things, for which he cou'd make no other Apology either to God or Man, but that he was forced to do what he did : besides, that heretofore he never sent any Messenger or Letter publickly, to give Intelligence concerning any Victory over his fellow-Citizens, but rather waved the Glory of such Achievements, as if he had been ashamed of them. In the mean time, most part of the *Romans*, inclining to comply with his Success, re-

'Altogether.

ceived the Bridle into their Mouths, and thinking that an absolute Government by one alone, wou'd give 'em time to breath after their Civil Wars and Calamities, they made him *Dictator* for his Life. This was a downright Tyranny indeed, because his sovereign Power now was not only absolute, but perpetual too. Then *Cicero* began to make Proposals to the Senate, to confer such Honours upon him, as were in some measure within the Bounds of Humanity ; but others contended among themselves, and made such excessive Additions to them, that they render'd *Cæsar* very offensive and hateful even to the most indifferent and easie sort of Men, by the immense height and extravagancy of those Titles which they decreed to give him. And among those Persons, some think, that not only his Flatterers, but those that hated him, strove to promote the Business, that they might have the more to say against him, and seem to charge him with the greatest Crimes ; for since the end of the Civil Wars, he had nothing else to answer for. And therefore methinks they had Reason for it, when they decreed to build a Temple of Clemency, in token of their Thanks to him for his Humanity which he had shewn in his Victory : for he for-

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gave a great many of those who had fought against him, nay to some he gave Honours and Offices, as to *Brutus* and *Cassius* for example, who were both of 'em *Prætors*. Nor did he suffer *Pompey's* Images that were thrown down, to lye so, but set 'em up again ; upon which occasion *Cicero* said, That *Cæsar*, whilst he set up *Pompey's* Statues, establish'd his own. And when his Friends advised him to keep a Guard to attend his Person, and many offer'd themselves to serve him in that Capacity, he wou'd not endure to hear on't, but said, *'Tis better once to die, than always to fear Death.* Wherefore he secur'd himself with the most honourable and the strongest Guard, that is, the Good-will of the People, whom he for that Reason entertain'd a second time with publick Feasting, and general Distributions of Corn. And to gratifie the Army, he re-peopled many Cities, that had been formerly destroy'd by sending Colonies of Souldiers into them, of which the most remarkable were *Carthage* and *Corinth* : and as it happen'd formerly, that those two Cities were taken and ruin'd both together, so also did it fall out, that they should be restored and peopled at one and the same time. As for the Men of Quality, he promised some of

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them,

them, that they shou'd be *Consuls* or *Prætors* for the time to come; and others he satisfied with Commands and Honours which he conferr'd upon them, but put 'em all in hopes of some Favour or other from him, because he had a great desire to rule by Love, if it were possible. So that when *Maximus* the *Consul* died, one day before his *Consulate* was ended, he made *Caninius Rebellius* *Consul* for that day: whom when many went to congratulate and wait upon, as the manner is, *Cicero* said in a Joke, *Let us make haste, lest the Man go out of his Office before we come.* In fine, *Cæsar* was born to do great things, and very ambitious of Honour, and therefore all the famous Exploits which he had done, did not invite him to enjoy the fruit of his Labours, but were Incentives and Encouragements only to go on, begetting in him Conceptions of greater Actions for the future, and a desire of new Glory, as if the present were all spent. Which Passion was nothing else, but a kind of emulous Contention with himself, as it had been with another, of outdoing his former Deeds with those that were to come: for he resolv'd and made Preparations to make War upon the *Parthians*; and having subdued them, to pass through *Hircania*,  
by

by the *Caspian* Sea, Mount *Caucasus*, and about by *Pontus*, to come into *Scythia*. And having over-run all the Countreys round about *Germany*, and *Germany* it self, to come again through *Gaule* into *Italy*, till he made the *Roman* Empire round, and bounded on every side with the Ocean. In the mean time, whilst he prepared for this Expedition, he endeavour'd to cut through the *Isthmus*, or Neck of Land, on which the City of *Corinth* stands. And after that he had a design to carry the River *Tueron* and *Tyber* in a deep Channel from *Rome*, over to the City *Circæum*, and so into the Sea near *Torracina*, to make the Passage safe and easie for all Merchants that traded to *Rome*. Besides this, he intended to drain all the Marshes between *Nomentum* and *Setium*, and gain Ground enough from the Water, to imploy many thousand of Men in manuring of it. He propos'd also to make great Mounds upon the Sea-shore next to *Rome*, which shou'd be Bounds to keep it from breaking in upon the Land; and likewise to cleanse the *Ostian* Shore of all Shelves and Rocks that lay under Water, taking away all other Impediments that might render that Coast unsafe for Shipping; and then to make Ports and Harbours fit for such Vessels as

used to arrive there. These things were design'd, but never came to effect : but his amendment of the Calendar, and rectifying the Irregularity of Time, was not only ingeniously found out, but brought to perfection by him, and is of excellent use. For it was not only in ancient Times, that the *Romans* had no certain Rule to make the Revolutions of their Months agree with the course of the year, (whereby their Sacrifices and their holy Days were removed by little and little, till they fell out at a season quite contrary to what they shou'd have done) but they were also to seek how to reckon at that time the course of the Sun, all but the Priests, who knew the convenient time; and on the sudden without any bodies knowledge, put in a Leap-month, which they called *Mercedonius*. They say, that *Numa* was the first who put in this Month, but his Invention wrought not far toward the supplying of the Defects that were in their Account of the Year, as we have shewn in his Life. But *Cæsar* proposing the Matter to the most sage Philosophers and Mathematicians, found out and publish'd, by means of the Principles then in being, a more exact and proper way to correct it; which the *Romans* use to this day, and seem to err less than any other

Nation, in the reduction of this Inequality of Months to the Year. Yet notwithstanding even this also gave offence to those that envied his Grandeur, and were weary of his Power : for *Cicero* the Orator, it seems, when one of his Company said, That the next morning the Constellation *Lyra* wou'd rise; Yes, said he, by virtue of *Cæsar's* Ediēt; as if Men had been forced by Law to receive this new Doctrine. But that which brought upon him the most apparent and mortal Hatred, was his affectation of being a King; which gave the common People the first occasion to find fault with him, and prov'd the most specious pretence to those that were his secret Enemies heretofore. But those who wou'd have gotten him that Honour, spread a Report among the People, that it was recorded in the *Sibylles* Books, that the *Parthians* might be conquer'd by the *Romans*, if they fought against them under the Conduct of a King, but that they shou'd never attain it by any other means. And one day, as *Cæsar* came from *Alba* to *Rome*, they were so bold to salute him by the Name of *King*; at which seeing the People disturb'd, he himself also was displeased at it, and told 'em, His Title was *Cæsar*, not *King*. Thereupon every one held their Tongue, and

and he pass'd forward with his Countenance compos'd, and very chagrine. After this, when they in the Senate had decreed him such Honours, as are above the pitch of Humanity, they found him sitting in the Pulpit for Orations ; but though the *Consuls* and the *Prætors* came, and the whole Senate follow'd them, to congratulate with him, yet he did not rise from his Seat, but spake to 'em as to any private Men, and told 'em, That his Honours wanted rather a Retrenchment, than an Addition. This did not only vex the Senate, but the common People too, because his contempt of the Senate reflected upon the whole City ; insomuch that every one that cou'd lawfully depart, went away immediately with great expressions of Sorrow. Nay *Cæsar* himself, when he consider'd what he had done, went home the same instant, and pulling off the Robe about his Neck, cry'd out to his Friends, that he was ready to hold his Throat for any one that wou'd come and cut it. But afterward, they say, he excus'd himself by his Distemper, and said, that was the cause why he sat down before 'em : because (said he) all those who have this Disease, have their Senses discompos'd, if they stand and talk in a publick Assembly ; but that they wou'd

shake

shake immediately, grow dizzy, be tor-  
tur'd with Convulsions, and absolutely  
depriv'd of their Reason. But this was  
false ; for, they say, that he wou'd have  
stood up to the Senate with all his heart ;  
but that *Cornelius Balbus*, one of his  
Friends, or rather his Flatterers, hin-  
der'd him, saying, *Do you not remember  
that you are Cæsar, and look to be honour'd  
as becomes your Dignity?* Besides these oc-  
casions of Offence, there was another al-  
so, and that was the Affront he put upon  
the *Tribunes* of the People, in this man-  
ner : The Feast of *Lupercalia* (which  
many Writers say, was anciently a Feast  
of the Shepherds only, and agrees in  
some measure with the *Arcadian* Festival,  
call'd *Lycæa*) was then celebrated ; where  
many young Noblemen and Magistrates  
run up and down the City naked, striking  
all they meet with, Thongs of Leather  
dress'd with the Hair on, by way of Jest  
and Sport : and many Gentlewomen meet  
'em purposely, stretching out their  
Hands, as Boys do to their Master's *Fel-  
lows* at School, to receive their Blows ;  
for they believe 'tis good to procure an  
easie Labour to those that are with Child,  
and to make those conceive, that were  
barren. *Cæsar* sat looking at them, near  
the Pulpit for Orations, in a Chair of  
Gold,

Gold, and array'd in a triumphal Robe. Now *Antonius*, because he was then *Consul*, was one of those that ran this sacred course ; who when he came into the Market-place, the People made way for him, whilst he presented *Cæsar* with a Diadem, or Royal Sash, interwoven with a Wreath of Laurel. At which there was an Applause given, but it was only by a few, that were planted there for that purpose ; but when *Cæsar* refused it, all the People clap their Hands. And when *Antonius* presented it the second time, there were but few that clapp'd ; but he not receiving it, they all express their Satisfaction in the same manner. *Cæsar*, seeing that this Stratagem did not take, rose up from his Seat, and commanded the Diadem to be carry'd into the Capitol to *Jupiter*. But afterward his Statues were found to have their Heads bound with Diadems, like Kings ; which *Flavius* and *Marullus*, two *Tribunes* of the People, went and pull'd off, and having caught them, who first saluted *Cæsar* as a King, they carry'd 'em to Gaol ; and the People follow'd 'em with Applauses, and called them *Brutus*, because *Brutus* was he that cut off the Succession of Kings, and transferr'd the sovereign Power, which used to be in one

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Person, to the Senate and the People together. *Cæsar* was so mightily incensed at this, that he deposed *Marullus* and his Colleague from their Office ; and whilst he inveigh'd against them, he jeer'd the People into the Bargain, telling them very often, He acknowledg'd they were *Bruti & Cumæi*, i. e. Beasts and Sots. This caused the Multitude to turn their Eyes upon *Marcus Brutus*, who by his Fathers side was thought to be descended from that first *Brutus*, and by his Mothers side from another noble Family of the *Servilii* ; besides that he was *Cato's* Nephew and Son-in-law. But the Honours and the Favours that *Cæsar* had bestow'd upon him, retund and took away the edge of his natural Inclination to destroy and ruine his sovereign Power : for he was not only saved himself, after the Battel of *Pharsalia*, when *Pompey* was run away, and obtain'd Pardon from many of his Friends, but *Cæsar* had great Confidence, and reposed great Trust in him also. Upon which account he had the most honourable *Prætorship* that was that very year, and was prickt down to be *Consul* within four years, being preferr'd before *Cassius* who was his Competitor. And upon the Dispute between them, 'tis reported that *Cæsar* shou'd say, *Cassius* indeed



deed gave the best Reasons for his Pretensions, but yet he cou'd not forsake *Brutus*. Nay so far he was from mistrusting *Brutus*, that when several accused him of a Conspiracy that was then in agitation, he wou'd not hearken to 'em, but laying his Hand upon his Body, told his Accusers, *Brutus will stay for this Skin of mine*: as who wou'd say, He was worthy of an Empire for his Virtues sake, but wou'd not shew himself treacherous and ungrateful to gain one. Nevertheless they that desired a Change, and lookt upon him as the most proper Person to introduce it, though they durst not discourse of it to his face, yet in the night-time they fill'd the Tribunal, and the Chair whereon he sat to determine Causes as a *Prætor*, with a great many such Sentences as these written upon little Billets: *Brutus! art asleep? And, Sure thou art no longer Brutus*. By this means *Cassius* perceiving his Ambition a little roused, was more instant than before to urge and incite *Brutus*; because he had himself a private Grudge against *Cæsar*, for some Reasons that we have shewn in what we have written concerning *Brutus*. And *Cæsar* also suspected him; which made him say upon occasion to some Friends of his: *What do you think Cassius*

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*means, or what wou'd he have? for my part I am not much pleas'd to see him look so very pale*. And again, 'tis said of him, that when he was inform'd that *Antony* and *Dolabella* conspir'd against him, to alter the present state of Affairs, he told the Informers, That he never fear'd such plump, well-lookt Men as they were, but rather such pale, meagre Fellows as those, meaning *Brutus* and *Cassius*. But his Fate seem'd not so much unexpected, as it was unavoidable, by reason of those miraculous Prodigies and Presages which at that time appear'd. For as to those Fires in the Heavens, and the Phantomes which in the night-time ran up and down in many Places, as also the solitary Birds that came and perch'd in the Market place, it's possible they may not be worth our remembrance in so great a Case as this is. But *Strabo* the Philosopher tells us, That many as they went along seem'd to be all on fire; and that a Souldiers Servant threw a great quantity of Flame out of his Hand, with which, they that saw him, thought he must have been needs burnt, but that the Fellow, when it was out, had no hurt. And farther, that when *Cæsar* was making Sacrifice to the Gods, that the Victim had never an Heart; which was a wondrous ill Omen,

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inasmuch as no Animal can naturally live without an Heart. Besides these things, a great many will tell you, That a certain Soothsayer forewarn'd him, that upon that day of *March*, which the *Romans* call the *Ides*, he shou'd take care to avoid a great Danger. When the day came, *Cæsar* met the Soothsayer, as he went to the Senate, and after the usual Salutation, droll'd with him, and told him, *Well*, said he, *the Ides of March are come*: To which the Soothsayer answer'd him softly; *Yes, they are come, but they are not passed.* And the day before *Cæsar* supped with *Marcus Lepidus*, and as he was subscribing some Letters, (as his custom was) whilst he was at Table, there happen'd a Dispute among 'em, which sort of Death was the best; at which he cry'd out before any of them, That which is unexpected. After Supper, as he was in Bed with his Wife *Calpurnia*, (according to his usual custom) all the Doors and Windows of his House flew open at the same time, and he being awaked with the Noise that he heard, and the Light he saw, (for the Moon shone into the Chamber) was startled; though he perceived that his Wife *Calpurnia* was fast asleep, but utter'd in her Dream some un-intelligible Words, and in-articulate

Groans;

Groans; for she at that time fancy'd that she was crying over *Cæsar*, and holding him stabb'd in her Arms. Others say, this was not her Vision; but that there was a Pinnacle set upon *Cæsar's* House for Beauty and Magnificence, by the Senate's Order, which *Calpurnia* dreamt she saw broken down, and thought she lamented and cry'd for it, as *Livius* tells us. And when it was day, she desired *Cæsar*, if it were possible, not to go out, but to defer the meeting of the Senate till another time; and if he did not value her Dreams, that he wou'd consult what shou'd befall him by Sacrifices, and other kinds of Divination. But indeed he himself (it seems) had some suspicion and fear about him; for he never before discover'd any womanish Superstition in *Calpurnia*, who at that time was so mightily concern'd: but when the Priests had kill'd a great many Sacrifices, and yet declar'd there was no good luck toward him, resolv'd to send *Antonius*, and dismiss the Senate. In the mean time in came *Decius Brutus*, whose Sirname was *Albinus*, whom *Cæsar* had so much Faith in, and lov'd so well, that he made him his second Heir, yet he was of the Conspiracy with the other *Brutus* and *Cassius*. This man fearing, that if *Cæsar* put off the Senate till ano-

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ther day, the Business wou'd be discover'd, not only laugh'd at the Priests, but blamed *Cæsar* also, that he shou'd give the Senate any cause to speak ill of him, by such a seeming Contempt of them. For they came together at his Command, and were all ready to make any Decrees, that he shou'd be declared King of all the Provinces without *Italy*, and shou'd wear a Diadem in any other Place, by Sea or Land. But if any one went to tell 'em, now they were safe, that they might depart for the present, and come again, when *Calpurnia* happen'd to have better Dreams, what wou'd his Enemies say? or who wou'd endure to hear his Friends defend his Government from the Imputation of Servitude and Tyranny? And he told him more, that if he thought that so unfortunate a day, yet it was better for him to come himself into the Senate, and personally with his own mouth to adjourn it. As soon as *Brutus* had said these words, he took *Cæsar* by the Hand, and led him out of the House; but he was not gone far from the Door, but there came a Servant, who was a Stranger to him, that had a great mind to speak with him: but seeing the multitude that crowded about him was so great that he could not, he made a shift to get into *Cæsar's*

*Cæsar's* House, and committed himself to *Calpurnia*, conjuring her to keep him safe, till *Cæsar* came back, because he had important Business to acquaint him with. There was also one *Artemidorus*, a *Guidian*, who taught Rhetorick in *Greek*, and upon that score grew acquainted with some of *Brutus's* Familiars, so as to know most of their secret Affairs; who brought *Cæsar* in a little Billet all that he had to discover. And seeing him receive all the Notes or Papers that were deliver'd to him, and give 'em to his Servants that attended upon him, he came as near to him as he cou'd, and bid him; *Cæsar*, (said he) read that Note that I deliver you, quickly and alone, for it contains great Business, and such as concerns you very much. *Cæsar* receiv'd it, and wou'd fain have read it several times, but cou'd not for the Throng of those that came to speak to him; however he kept it in his Hand by it self, till he came into the Senate. There are some that say, it was another who gave *Cæsar* this Note, and that *Artemidorus* cou'd not come near him, but was repuls'd by the Multitude all the way. Now all these things might happen by chance; but the Place where he was murder'd, and where the Senate was then assembled, having the Statue of *Pompey*

in it, and being one of the Edifices that he had given and dedicated to the Commonwealth with his Theater, demonstrated very plainly, that there was something of a Deity in the Case, that guided the Enterprize, and order'd the Execution to be expressly in that Place. To which purpose they say of *Cassius*, That just before they went about the fatal Work, he lookt toward *Pompey's* Statue, and silently invoked his Assistance, though he were an *Epicurean* in his Judgement: for that Occasion (it seems) and the instant Danger, removed his Reason that he had before, and made him a perfect mad Fanatick. As for *Antonius*, who was *Cæsar's* faithful Friend, and a lusty stout Man, *Brutus Albinus* kept him without the Senate-house, in a long Story contriv'd on purpose. So when *Cæsar* entred in, the Senate stood up in Respect to him; but *Brutus's* Confederates stood round, some behind his Chair, and others met him, pretending to intercede for *Metellus Cimber*, who desired him to recal his Brother that was then in Exile; and they continued their common Petitions, till he came to his Seat. But seeing that, he fate him down, and not only gave 'em a Repulse, but when they urged him more earnestly, was very angry, and chid 'em

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one after another; till *Metellus* taking his Robe with both his Hands, pull'd it from about his Neck, which was the Token when to begin the Assault. Then *Cæsa* gave him the first Cut in the Neck, which was not mortal, nor considerable, but like a Wound from one, who at the beginning of such an audacious Enterprize, was (very probably) disturb'd in his Mind. But yet such a Stroke it was as made *Cæsar* turn, and get hold of his Dagger; and both of 'em at the same time cry'd out; He that was cut, *i. e. Cæsar*, in *Latin*, *Oh! wicked Cæsa, what dost do?* And He that wounded him, *i. e. Cæsa*, in *Greek* to his Brother; *Brother! help me*. This was the first Onset, at which they were all amazed, that knew not of the Design; nay they were so affrighted at the Action, that they durst neither fly, nor assist *Cæsar*, nor so much as utter one syllable. But those that had conspir'd his Death, inclosed him on every side with every one their naked Swords in their Hands, and which way soever he turn'd, he met with Blows, was prickt with Swords, which they held and brandish'd before his Face and Eyes, and in fine, was environ'd by 'em all, no other-wise than a Beast taken in a Toyl by the Huntsmen. For they had made a Bar-

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gain, and by that every one was bound to have a touch at him, and flesh themselves with his Blood; wherefore *Brutus* gave him a Wound in the Groin. And there are some that say, he fought and resisted all the rest, removing still from one Place to another, and crying out for Help; but as soon as he saw *Brutus* with his Sword drawn, he pull'd his Robe over his Head, without any more ado, and furrender'd himself, till he was push'd either by chance, or by design of the Murderers, (no body knows which) even to the Base of *Pompey's* Statue, which was thereby very much besmeared with Blood. By which Event *Pompey* seem'd to have the ordering of his Enemies Punishment, that fell at his Feet, and breath'd his Soul out through his multitude of Wounds, for, they say, he received three and twenty. And the Conspirators themselves were many of'em wounded by each other, whilst they endeavour'd to give the same Person so many Cuts.

As soon as *Cæsar* was kill'd, *Brutus* stood forth to give some Account of what they had done; but the Senate had no power or patience to stay, and therefore ran out of Doors in all haste, and fill'd the People with so much Fear and Distraction, that some shut their Doors,

others

others left their Shops and Work-houses, *Τετιμεζας, & Χρηματισιαν.* others ran to the Place, to see what the Matter was, and others were coming home again when they had been to see. Now *Antonius* and *Lepidus*, two of *Cæsar's* best Friends, got away privately, and went to some Friends Houses; whilst *Brutus* and his Followers, being yet hot with the Murder, went altogether in a Body, with their naked Swords in their Hands, out of the Senate-house toward the Capitol, not like men that were ready to run their Countrey, but being very cheerful and confident, they advis'd the People to resume their Liberty, and kindly saluted all the Men of Quality whom they met by the way; some of which went along with them, and mingling them among the Conspirators, pretended to the Honour of the Action, as if they had been partakers in it. Of that number were *C. Octavius*, and *Lentulus Sphen*, who were afterward chastiz'd for their Insolence and Vanity by *Antony*, and the young (*Octavius*) *Cæsar*, who put 'em to death: so that they enjoy'd not the Glory for which they died, because nobody ever believ'd they were concern'd in the Conspiracy; nor did those who punish'd them for it, revenge so much the Deed as the Will of them. The next

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day *Brutus* with the rest came down from the Capitol, and made a Speech to the People; who seem'd neither displeas'd nor pleas'd with what was done, but hearken'd to his Harangue, and demonstrated by their deep Silence, that they pitied *Cæsar*, and at the same time had a Reverence for *Brutus*. But the Senate made certain Acts of Oblivion and Reconciliation for all that was pass'd, and to oblige all Parties, they ordain'd, That *Cæsar* should be worshipp'd as a God, and that there shou'd not be the least alteration made in any thing that he had enact'd, whilst he govern'd, and on the other hand distributed Commands, and gave proportionable Honours to *Brutus*, and all his Adherents: insomuch that all men were of opinion, that things were well settled, and in a very good condition. But when *Cæsar's* Will was open'd, and it was found, that he had left a considerable Legacy to each one of the *Roman* People, and that they saw his Body carry'd through the Market-place, all mangled with Wounds, the Multitude cou'd no longer contain themselves within the Bounds of Decency and Order, but made a Pile of Benches, Bars and Tables, which they found in the Market-place, and kindling them under the Body, burnt it. Then

*Eryxidis.*

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taking up Fire-brands, some ran to the Houses of those that were engaged in the Murder, to burn 'em, whilst others went all about the City, in search of them, that having taken them, they might have torn 'em in pieces; but they met with none of 'em, for they were all secur'd in their Houses. In reference to this Business, they say, that *Cinna*, who was a Familiar of *Cæsar's*, happen'd to have a strange Vision the night before: which was, that he imagined he was invited by *Cæsar* to Supper, and being not willing to go, that *Cæsar* pull'd him by the Hand, and led him along whether he wou'd or no: and then understanding that they were burning *Cæsar's* Body in the Market-place, he arose and went thither out of Respect to him, although the Vision that he had seen the night before, gave him some cause of suspicion, though he had a Fever. As soon as he came thither, and the People saw him, they ask'd and told one another what his Name was, till it went immediately for currant among 'em, that he was one of *Cæsar's* Murderers: for indeed there was one *Cinna* that was a Conspirator, whom they presuming to be the same Person, they fell upon him without any more Questions, and tore him in pieces upon the

the Place. *Brutus* and *Cassius* being more afraid of this, than upon any other Account, in a few days departed out of the City: but what they did or suffer'd before their Death, we have in the Life of *Brutus*.

Now *Cæsar* dy'd in the fifty sixth year of his Age, and did not survive *Pompey* above four years, reaping no other fruit from that Dominion and Power, which he pursu'd all his Life-time with so much hazard, and at last with great difficulty obtain'd, besides an empty Name, and such Glory as only provoked the Envy of his fellow-Citizens. Nevertheless his good Fortune, and the great Favour of Heaven, that attended him in his Life-time, continued to follow him even after his Death, as the Revenger of his Murder: for it sought, pursu'd, and hunted out those that kill'd him by Sea and Land, till it left ne'r a Man alive, but punish'd every one of 'em, that was any way concern'd in the Fact, either by acting, counselling, or abetting of it. Now of all things that do usually befall Mankind, the most wonderful was that which happen'd to *Cassius*; who when he was conquer'd at *Philippi*, kill'd himself with the same Sword, which he had made use of against *Cæsar*. But among things extraordinary

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and divine, (as we may call 'em) was that great Comet, that shone so bright for seven nights after *Cæsar's* Death, and then disappear'd; as likewise the diminution of the Sun's Light, which for that whole year rose always pale, and not with that radiant-brightness which is proper to it. The Heat of it also was weak and languishing, and the Air consequently all that while gross, dark and cold, for want of heat enough to rarifie, enlighten and warm it; insomuch that in that year the Fruits of the Earth for that reason were raw, and never ripe, but rotted before it cou'd come to maturity, so chill was the Air all that season. But above all, the Vision that appear'd to *Brutus*, demonstrated most evidently, that the Murder was not pleasing to the Gods; which Vision was this: *Brutus* being ready to put over his Army from the Town *Abydos* to *Sestos*, which is over against it, laid himself down, as he used to do, one night in his Tent, and was not fallen asleep, but thinking of his Affairs, and what was to come. For they say, that he being one of the most vigilant Captains, and the least inclined to sleep that ever any man was, as being of a most watchful Constitution, he thought he heard a noise at the Door of his Tent, and

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looking that way, by the light of a Lamp that burnt very dim, ( as being almost out ) he saw a terrible Figure, like that of a Man, but of an excessive bulk, and hideous to behold. With which he was frighten'd at the first ; but when he saw the Spectre neither did nor said any thing to him, but only stood by his Bed-side, he ask'd it at last, *What, or who it was?* The Phantom answer'd him, *I am thy evil Genius, Brutus, and thou shalt see me near the City of Philippi :* To which Brutus answer'd, *Very well, I'll meet you there then ;* and immediately the Ghost vanished. After that, when he had set his Army in Battalia near the City of *Philippi*, against *Antonius* and *Cesar*, at the first Battel he got the day, and put all them to flight whoever they were that opposed him, chasing them into young *Cesar's* Camp, which he plunder'd. But the night before he was to fight the second Battel, the same Ghost appear'd to him again, without saying one word. By which understanding very well, that his time was come, exposed himself to all the Perils and Dangers of the Battel, and yet cou'd not die in the Fight : but seeing his Men routed and defeated before his Face, he made haste to the top of a craggy Rock, and there leaning his

Breast

Breast upon the point of his naked Sword, ( with the help of one of his Friends that assisted him and directed the Weapon ) he ran himself quite through the Body, and dy'd upon the Spot, as it is related by the greatest part of Historians.

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T H E



# PHOCION.



M. Burgh. sculp.

# THE LIFE OF PHOCION.

English'd from the Greek.

By Ph. Fowke, M. D.

**D**Emades the Orator, a powerful man at that time in *Athens*, managing Matters in favour of *Anti-* and the *Macedonians*, being necessitated to write and speak many things below his dignity, and contrary to the usage of the City, was wont to excuse himself, by saying, *He steer'd only the Shipwracks of*  
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*the Commonwealth.* This hardy Saying of his might have some appearance of truth, if apply'd to *Phocion's* Government; for *Demades* indeed himself was the ruine of his Countrey, living and ruling so dissolutely, which gave *Antipater* occasion to say of him, (being now grown old) *That he was like a sacrific'd Beast, all consumed save his Tongue and his Paunch.* But *Phocion's* was a steady Virtue, depress'd only by too great a Counterpoise, the Fate of Greece conspiring with that juncture of Time, to render it more obscure and inglorious; yet *Sophocles* too much weakens the force of Virtue, by saying,

*Nor do our minds, with adverse Fate surround'd,  
Maintain their tenur, but are shock'd, confounded.*

Thus much indeed must be granted to happen in the Contests between good Men and ill Fortune, that instead of due Returns to their good management, the People, by unjust Surmises and Obloquies, often sully the lustre, and endeavour to blast the reputation of their Virtue. And although it be commonly said, That the Populace is most insulting and contumelious to great men, when they are puff'd up with Prosperity and Success, the contrary oft happens; Afflictions and publick

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Calamities naturally eagering and sowing the Minds and Manners of men, and disposing them to such Peevishness and Chagrin, that hardly can any one carry himself so swimmingly in his words or actions, but they will be apt to take peit: he that remonstrates to their Miscarriages, is interpreted to insult over their Misfortunes, and even the mildest Expostulations are constru'd Contempt: Honey it self is searching in fore and ulcerated parts; and the wisest, though soft Counsels, may prove to be provoking to distemper'd minds, that have not well prepar'd ears to entertain them. This made the Poet express such applications, by a word signifying a grateful and *ease touch* upon the mind, without harshness or offence: inflamed Eyes require a retreat into gloomy and dusky places, amongst Colours of the deepest shades, unable to endure the vigorous and glaring light: So fares it in the Body politick, when heated with Factions and Irresolution; there is a certain Niceness and touchy Humour prevails in the Minds of men, and an unaccountable jealousy of any person, that with openness and freedom offers to scan their actions, even when the necessities of their affairs most require such plain-dealing. And surely such a condi-

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on of State is most ticklish, when those who endeavour to stem the popular Torrent, are in danger to be run down by them, and those who humour them, to be swallow'd up with them in the common ruine.

Astronomers tell us, the Sun's motion is neither exactly parallel with the rest of the Orbs, nor yet directly and diametrically opposite to them; but describing an oblique line, with insensible declination, he steers his course so, to disperse his Light and Influence, in his annual Revolution, at several Seasons, in equal proportions, to the whole Creation: so it happens in political Affairs, that if the motions of Rulers be constantly opposite and cross to the *Genius* and inclination of the People, they will be stomach'd as arbitrary and tyrannical; as on the other side, too much Deference and *Indulgence* to the Subjects Levity and Wantonness, has oft proved dangerous and fatal; but the gratifying them in reasonable and fair Requests, when they are not masterly and insolent, may prove for the honour and safety of the Government: yet it must be confess'd, it is a nice Point, and extream difficult, so to temper this *Lenity*, as to preserve the *Authority* of the Government, that it may not be exposed to the

the Peoples Affront and Contempt. But if such a blessed Mixture and Temperament may be obtain'd, it seems to be the most regular and harmonious of all other; for thus we are taught even God governs the World, not by irresistible force, but perswasive Arguments and gentle Insinuations into our Minds, bending them to compliance with his eternal Purposes.

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γῳ ἀνδάνων,  
τῷ ἀνδρά-  
κῳ.

Thus it befel *Cato* the younger, whose Manners were so little agreeable or acceptable to the People, that he received very slender marks of their Favour; witness his repulse in the Pretences he made to the Consular, behaving himself, as *Cicero* observes, rather like a Citizen of *Plato's* Commonwealth, than among the Lees of *Romulus's* Posterity: the same thing happening to him, in my opinion, as we observe in Fruits ripe before their season, which we rather gaze at and admire, than use; so much was his old-fashion'd Virtue out of present mode, considering the depraved Customs, Time and Luxury had introduc'd, that it appear'd (indeed) slightly and splendid, but suited not the present Exigencies, being so disproportion'd to the Manners in vogue, and the guise of the present Times. Yet his Circumstances were not altogether like *Phocion's*,  
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who came to the Helm when the publick Bottom was just upon sinking. *Cato's* Time was, indeed, stormy and tempestuous, yet so as he was able to assist in managing the Sayls, and lend his helping hand to those that steer'd: his manly resolution gave Fortune a task of Time and difficulty in ruining the Commonwealth, in which he and his Friends had almost prevail'd against her, which yet, by other assistance, with long time and tugging, by slow degrees was afterwards effected.

Now we compare *Phocion* to him, not only in the common Resemblances that appear amongst great Men and Statesmen; for indeed there is some difference among Virtues of the same denomination, as the Valour of *Alcibiades* and *Epaminondas*, the Prudence of *Themistocles* and *Aristides*, the Justice of *Numa* and *Agessilaus*. But these men's Virtues are the same, even to the most minute differences, having the same colour, stamp and character impressed upon them, so as not to be distinguishable; whether you look upon them in the exact mixture on the one hand, with austerity on the other; their Gallantry upon some occasions, and Caution on others; their extream sollicitude for the Publick, and perfect neglect of themselves; their fixt and immoveable bent to all virtuous and

and honest Actions, accompani'd with an extream tenderness and scrupulosity of doing any thing might appear mean or unworthy: so that in these, as in two Instruments exactly tuned to each other, he must have a nice Ear that can perceive any Discord.

As to *Cato's* Extraction, it's confess'd by all to be illustrious, (as shall be said hereafter) nor was *Phocion's* (I'm well assured) obscure or ignoble; for had he been the Son of a Turner, (as *Idomeneus* reports) it had certainly not been forgot to his disparagement, by *Hiperides* the Son of *Glaukipus*, who heaped up a thousand spiteful things against him: nor indeed was it possible for him in such Circumstances to have had such liberal Education in his Youth, as to be first *Plato's*, and afterwards *Xenocrates's* Scholar in the Academy, and in whatever gentle Accomplishments, to have been all along emulous of the very best of his Contemporaries. His Countenance was so composed, that scarce was he ever seen by the *Athenians* laughing, or in tears; he indulged not himself in the luxury of the publick Baths, (as *Douris* reports) nor ever had his Hands without his Cloak, when he appear'd dress'd in publick. Abroad and in the Camp he was so ha

to go always thin clad and bare-foot, except the Frost was vehement and intolerable, that the Souldiers used to say in Merriment, that it was a hard Winter like to be when *Phocion* wore his Shoos. Although he was of most easie Conversation and great Humanity, his appearance was morose and fowr, so that he was seldom accosted by any that were Strangers to him: upon which occasion *Chares*, upon a time jeering his supercilious Look, and the *Athenians* applauding him for it, *Phocion* reply'd, *My Sullenness never made any of you sad, but these men's Follity have given you sorrow enough.* In like manner *Phocion's* Discourse was grave and pithy, full of useful Remarks, with a sententious brevity awful and austere, however unpleasant: after the manner as *Zeno* says a Philosopher should speak, his words thoroughly tinctur'd with the inward sense of his mind; such was *Phocion's*, who crowded much into little room: and to this probably *Polyenctus* the *Sphettian* had regard, when he said, that *Demosthenes* was indeed the best Orator of his time, but *Phocion* the most powerful Speaker; whose words were to be estimated like smaller Coins from the intrinsic value of the Metall, not from the bulk. He was observed sometimes,

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when the Theater was fill'd with Spectators, to walk musing alone behind the Scenes, which one of his Friends once taking notice of, said, *Phocion, you seem to be thoughtful*; *Yes verily*, replied he, *I am considering wherein I may retrench what I am to say to the Athenians.* Even *Demosthenes* himself, who used to despise the rest of the *Haranguers* when he rose up, was wont to say presently to those about him, *Now mark*, says he, *the Pruning-hook of my Periods.* But this perhaps may be referr'd to the Authority of the man, since not only a word, but even a nod from a person had in reverence, is of more force than the most studied and elaborate Speeches of others. In his Youth he serv'd under *Chabrias*, at that time General, whom he greatly honour'd, and by him was abundantly instructed in military Knowledge; and in return, help'd to correct his Humour, which was odd and capricious: for being otherways naturally heavy and flegmatick, he was so fired and transported in heat of Fight, that he threw himself headlong into danger beyond the forwardest; which indeed cost him his Life in the Island of *Chio*, having press'd his own Ship foremost, to force a descent into the Haven. But *Phocion* being a man of Temper as well as Courage,

had

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had the dexterity at some times to warm the General's Flegm, and at others to moderate and cool the impetuoufness of his unseasonable Fury. Upon which account *Chabrias*, being a good natur'd man, loved him extreamly, and preferr'd him to Offices and Commands, and effectually recommended him to the *Athenians*, using his assistance; and taking his advice in all his Affairs of moment: particularly the Sea fight at *Naxos* made not a little to *Phocion's* Reputation; for having the lest Squadron committed to him by *Chabrias*, he so managed the Matter, that the Controversie was quickly decided in their favour by a speedy Victory: and this being the first prosperous Dispute the City had with the *Grecians*, by its single force, since it was under Hatches, *Chabrias* the General was mightily adored, and *Phocion* magnify'd as a man worthy of the greatest Trust and Command. This Victory happen'd at the great Solemnities, and *Chabrias* appointed an Anniversary to commemorate it on the 16th. of *August*, on which it was obtained, and distributed a Large of Wine among the *Athenians*. Much about this time *Chabrias* sent *Phocion* to demand their *Quota* of the Charges of the War from the *Islanders*, and proffering him a Guard of 20 Sayl, he told him, If he intend-

tended him to go against them as Enemies, that force was insignificant; if as to Friends and Allies, one Vessel was sufficient: so he took one single Galley, and having visited the Cities, and treated with the Governours friendly and apertly, he return'd with a good number of Ships, sent by the Confederates to *Athens*, with supplies for their maintenance. Neither did his Friendship to *Chabrias* determine with his Life, but after his decease was religiously maintained to all that related to him: chiefly his Son *Ctesippus* he labour'd to bring into some decorum, and although he was a very stupid and unhewn young Fellow, he ceased not, what in him lay, to correct and cover his faults and follies; once when the Youngster was very impertinent and troublesome to him in the Camp, about ordering the Army, still shooting his Bolt, interrupting him with idle Questions, and documenting *Phocion* with his silly Opinions in the Matter, he could not forbear crying out, O *Chabrias*, *Chabrias*, *this is the greatest test of my Friendship to thee, to endure this Blockhead!*

Upon looking into publick Matters, and the Managers of them, he observed they had shared the administration of Affairs among themselves, as it were by Lot;

Lot ; the Sword-men, and those of the long Robe, so as not to interfere with each other : these were to manage the Assemblies, register their Votes, and publish their Acts and Edicts, of whom were *Eu-bulus*, *Aristophon*, *Demosthenes*, *Lycurgus* and *Hyperides* ; this was a gainful Trade among them, and the men of the Blade, as *Diopithes*, *Menestheus*, *Leosthenes* and *Charetas*, by their military Employments, carved out fair Proportions for themselves out of the publick Stock. Now *Phocion* was of opinion, that such a model of Government as that of *Pericles*, *Aristides* and *Solon*, wherein the same person acted both Parts, in propounding Laws and ordering the Militia, was a more perfect, uniform and regular Mixture, and would redound most to the common Good and Safety ; each of these persons being well qualify'd for both purposes, that I may use *Archilochus's* words : —

*Mars and the Muses Friends alike design'd,  
To Arts and Arms indifferently inclin'd.*

*Minerva* being styl'd the Patroness and Protectress of Arts both Civil and Military.

*Phocion* having thus consider'd with himself, his Inclinations and Genius were al-

always for peace and quietness, yet was he engaged in more Wars than any of his Predecessors ; never indeed promoting or encouraging such Designs, nor, on the other hand, shunning or declining any Enterprize, when he was call'd to it by the publick necessity of the State. And thus much is well known, that he was no less than 45 several times chosen General, when he was never once of those times present in the Assembly ; but the Command, in his absence, by common Suffrage, conferr'd on him, and he sent for on purpose to undertake it : infomuch that it amazed those that did not well consider, to see the People always prefer *Phocion*, who was so far from humouring them, or courting their Favour, that he always thwarted and opposed them. But so it was, as great Men and Princes use their Buffoons and Jesters after Meals, for their Disport and Merriment, so the *Athenians* upon slight occasions entertain'd and diverted themselves with their spruce Speakers and trim Orators ; but when it came to dint of Action, they were so sober and considerative to mark out the gravest and wisest for publick Employment, however opposite to their Sentiments. This he made no scruple to own, upon the occasion of the Oracle of *Delphos* being

ing read, which informed them, that the rest of the Citizens being unanimous, there was one only person so presumptuous to abound in his own sense, which he frankly told them was himself, bidding them look no further, for he indeed was nothing satisfied in all their proceedings. Happening afterwards to speak his own opinion, to the general approbation of the Assembly, turning to some of his Friends, he demanded of them, *What foolish thing had escaped him unawares to merit their Applause?*

Upon occasion of a publick Festivity, being solicited for his Contribution, by the example of others, and pressing him much, he bid them apply themselves to the wealthy, for his part he should blush to be so prodigal to throw away any thing, whilst he was in the Usurer's Books, pointing to *Callicles* the Scrivener. Being still clamour'd on and importun'd, he told them this Tale: *A certain white-liver'd Fellow intending for the Wars, hearing the Ravens croak in his passage, threw down his Arms, resolving to be quiet: recollecting himself after, he adventur'd out again, but hearing the same Misick, made a full stop, saying, they might tear their Throats (if they pleas'd) for joy of smelling a Feast, but for his part he was resolv'd to save his Skin.*

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The *Athenians* urging him at an unreasonable time to fall upon the Enemy, he peremptorily refused, and being upbraided by them with Cowardise and Pusillanimity, he told them, *Gentlemen, we understand one another very well; you cannot make me valiant at this time, nor I you wise.* In time of security, the People were very pert and severe upon him, demanding a strict account how the publick Treasure had been employed, and the like: He bid them first be assured of their safety, and after mind their good Husbandry; in effect, the passions of the *Mobile* alter'd with their Affairs, being extream timorous and submissive in times of danger; when that was blown over, insolent and over-bearing, clamouring upon *Phocion*, as one that envied them the honour of Victory. To all which he made only this Answer, *My Friends, you are happy that have a Leader that knows your humours, or you had long since been undone.*

Having a Controversie with the *Beotians* about Boundaries, which he counsell'd them to decide by Treaty, they inclined to Blows; he told them, *Gentlemen, for my part I think it advisable for you to have a tryal of skill at the Weapons you can best manage (your Tongues) and not your Hands, in which you are inferiour.* Once when he

was



was speaking, they run him down with noise, not suffering him to go on, or enduring to hear him: *Well Sirs*, quoth he, *you may overpower me to do what I would not, but you shall never force me to say anything contrary to my sense.* The whole Crew of Haranguers upon a time bandying against him, *Demosthenes* said, *Phocion*, the *Athenians* will tear thee piece-meal, if once they grow enraged; and thee, says he, when they return to their right minds. Observing *Polyeuctus* the *Sphettian*, a very corpulent man, with earnestness, till he wanted breath, and dropt again with sweat, labouring the Assembly for a War against King *Philip*; *This indeed*, says he, *is a proper person to persuade you to Action; and will doubtless behave himself notably in back and breast, that with talking only has almost melted his grease.* When *Lycurgus* had spoken many reflecting and scurrilous things against him, closing with that of his advising them to deliver ten of the Citizens for Hostages, which *Alexander* had demanded; he coolly reply'd, That he had been the Author of much safe and wholsom Counsel, which had not been follow'd. There was a man call'd *Archibiades*, nick-named the *Lacedemonian*, affecting their Gravity, by wearing an overgrown mossie Beard, an old leaguer

Cloak,

Cloak, with a very formal Countenance: *Phocion* being teased by the rest, made sure of this man for his Advocate and Compurgator; but finding him when he began to speak, smoothing and wheedling with the predominant Faction, taking him by the Beard, he cry'd, *Nay Friend, if you turn Courtier, by all means off with your Gravity.* *Aristogeiton* the Sycophant, was a terrible man of War within the doors of the House, always sounding to Horse, and inflaming them to Battel; but when the Muster-roll came to be produc'd, where every ones Name was that was fit for service, he came limping with his Crutch to the Meeting, with a world of Bandage on his Leg, like a maimed Souldier: *Phocion* spy'd him afar off coming in, and cry'd out to the Clerk, *Set down Aristogeiton too for a counterfeit Cripple.* It was a little to be admired, how a man so severe and smart upon all occasions as *Phocion* was, should notwithstanding maintain his Respect and Reputation with the People; yet though difficult, it is not impossible a man's Temper, like some Wines, may have a sweetness mixt with some harshness also, not at all ungrateful; as on the contrary, some are so extream luscious, they are both untasty and unwholsom.

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sowr and sarcastical, used to excuse it to the *Athenians*, by saying, *Consider, I pray, whether I have designed any advantage by my bitterness*; as though a covetous Design were the only unsupportable Grievance, and not also men may justly render themselves obnoxious to Censure, by abusing their Authority, with Pride and Passion to prevail upon the weakness, and awe the minds of the Vulgar. But *Phocion* had no personal Pique nor Spleen to any man, nor indeed reputed any man his Enemy, but who contravened his Proposals for the Weal-publick; in which Argument he was most tenacious, sturdy and uncontrollable: for his general Conversation, it was easie, courteous and obliging to all, to that point, as to befriend all sorts in distress, and even espouse the Cause of those who differ'd most from him, when they needed his Patronage. His Friends reproaching him for pleading in behalf of an ill man, he told them, *The Innocent had no occasion for an Advocate.* *Aristogeiton* the Sycophant, we mention'd before, having after Sentence pass'd upon him, sent earnestly to *Phocion* to speak with him in the Prison, his Friends dissuaded him from going; *Why, by your favour,* says he, *where should I rather choose to make Aristogeiton a Visit?*

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As for the Friends and Allies of the *Athenians* the *Islanders*, when ever any Admiral besides *Phocion* was sent, they treated him as an Enemy suspect, barricado'd their Gates, block'd up their Havens, drove the Countrey of their Cattel, Slaves, Wives and Children, and put them in Garrison: but upon *Phocion's* Arrival, they went out to welcome him in their Shallops and Barges, with Streamers and Garlands, and received him at Landing, with all demonstrations of Joy and Triumph. At this time King *Philip* made a descent into *Eubœa*, bringing thither an Army from *Macedonia*, endeavouring to gain the Cities to his Interest, by the means of their Governours: *Plutarch* of *Eretria* (a City in *Eubœa*) was sent to pray Aid of the *Athenians*, toward the relief of the Island, that was in imminent danger of being surprized by the *Macedonians*. *Phocion* was sent thither with a handful of men, (in comparison) in expectation the Countrey would flock in again to him; but when he came, he found all things in confusion, the Countrey betray'd, all corrupted by Bribery, and bought and sold by the Pensioners to King *Philip*, inso much that he ran the greatest risque imaginable. To secure himself the best he could, he possess himself

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self

self of a small rising Ground, which was divided from the Camp about *Tamynas*, by a large Trench, in which he enclosed the choicest of his Army : for the Praters and idle Vagabonds that straggled from the Camp, and forsook their Colours, he bid his Officers not regard them, for that they would not only be disorderly and ungovernable themselves, but be a hindrance to the rest, and further being conscious to themselves of the neglect of their duty, they would be less apt to prate and misrepresent the Action, or bespatter them at their return home. When the Enemy drew nigh, he commanded them to stand to their Arms, whilst he went to sacrifice; in which he spent a considerable time, either by the tediousness of the thing itself, or on purpose to invite the Enemy nearer. *Plutarch* interpreting this tardiness as a failure in his Courage, fell on alone with the Auxiliaries; which the Cavalry perceiving, could not be contained, but issuing also out of the Camp confusedly and disorderly, spurr'd up to the Enemy. The Van by this means was worsted, the rest were easily dispersed, and *Plutarch* himself shew'd a fair pair of heels, as judging the whole Army had been routed. But by this time, the Sacrifice being over, those within the Camp made a Head, and fell

fell upon them that were got to the Ditch, putting them to flight, and cutting many of them in pieces : and *Phocion* having order'd a particular Squadron to watch their motions, and pursue those that first gave way in the Skirmish, himself afterwards, with a reserve of his best men, engaged the whole Body of the Enemy in a sharp and bloody Fight, in which all of them behaved themselves with remarkable Courage and Gallantry. *Thallus* the Son of *Cineas*, and *Glaucus* of *Polymedes*, that fought near the General, signalized themselves ; so did also *Cleophanes* merit the Reputation of a brave man, having every where laid about him, and call'd upon the Horse that were wheeling, to succour the General, who was in danger, he made them face about, so as to confirm the Victory already obtained by the Infantry. By which means *Plutarch* was driven out of *Eretria*, and the commodious Castle of it was taken, being situate in that part of the Island, where it is narrowed into a small neck of Land, the rest of the Island being surrounded other-where by the Sea.

He would not permit them to take any of the *Greeks* Prisoners, for fear the Orators at *Athens* should inflame the People against them, to determine something to their prejudice.

This Affair thus dispatch'd and settled, *Phocion* set Sayl homewards, having given most manifest tokens of his Justice and Humanity to the *Allies*, and to the *Athenians* indisputable proofs of his Courage and Conduct. His Successor *Molofus* had worse fate to fall alive into the Enemies hands, which inspired *Philip* with great thoughts and designs to move with all his force into the *Hellepont*, so to the *Chersonesus* and *Perinthus*, and on to *Byzantium*. The *Athenians* raising Recruits to relieve them, the *Demagogues* made it their business to prefer *Chares* to be General, who sailing thither, effected nothing worthy of such an Equipage; nor would the Confederates harbour his Fleet, having jealousy of him, so that he did nothing but pirate about, pillaging their Friends, and despised by their Enemies. Upon this occasion, the People being chafed by the Orators, were in great Ferment, and highly enraged they had been so fool'd, to send any Succour to the *Byzantines*: whereupon *Phocion* rising up, told them, *My Masters, you have not so much reason to be concern'd at the Jealousies of your Friends, as the Unfaithfulness of your own Generals, who render you suspected, even to those who yet can't possibly subsist without your Succours.* The Assembly being moved with

with this Speech of his, chang'd their minds on the sudden, and commanded him immediately to raise more Force, and assist their Confederates in the *Hellepont*, which would be of the greatest moment for the security of *Byzantium*.

At this time *Phocion's* Name was up, and an old Acquaintance of his, who had been his fellow-Student in the Academy, *Cleon*, a man of highest renown for Virtue among the *Byzantines*, having vouch'd for *Phocion* to the City, they opened their Gates to receive him, not permitting him (though he desired it) to incamp without the Walls, but entertained him and all the *Athenians* with entire Respect; and they to require their Confidence, conversed with their new Hosts, not only soberly and inoffensively, but behaved themselves on all occasions with great cheerfulness and resolution for their defence. Thus came King *Philip* to be driven out of the *Hellepont*, and despised to boot, who was till now thought impossible to be match'd, and even apprehended invincible. *Phocion* also took some of his Ships, and retook some of the Places he had garrison'd, making besides several Inrodes into the Countrey, which he plunder'd and over run, until such time as he happen'd to be wounded by some of them

that came to his assistance, he made off towards home.

The *Megaraeans* at this time privately praying Aid of the *Athenians*, *Phocion* fearing lest the *Beotians* being aware of it, should prevent them, call'd an Assembly very early in the morning, and backing the *Beotians* Petition it was put to the Question, and voted in their favour. As soon as ever it was done, he made Proclamation immediately by sound of Trumpet, and led them off strait from the Assembly, to arm and put themselves in posture. The *Megaraeans* received them joyfully, they help'd them to fortifie *Nisaea*, and build two new Bulwarks on each side, from the City to the Haven, and so joynd it to the Sea; so that being sufficiently defended on the Land side from the Assailants, it was secured to the *Athenians*.

Now was the time that the Liberty of Greece was openly disputed with King *Philip*, and at *Athens* such Chiefs chosen in *Phocion's* absence, that at his arrival from the Islands, he dealt earnestly with the *Athenians*, (being deeply possess'd what danger might ensue) that since *Philip* show'd some peaceable Inclinations towards them, they would consent to a Treaty, being contradicted in this by a prating pick-thank Fellow, of those sort of

of Vermin that haunt the Places of publick Assembly, (this was a famous Place of the *Athenians* meeting open to the Air.) This sawcy Companion asking *Phocion*, if he durst presume to perswade the *Athenians* to Peace, now their Swords were in their hands? Yes, said he, I dare, though I'm satisfied I shall be thy Master in time of War, and thou (perhaps) mine in time of Peace. Since he could not prevail, and *Demosthenes's* opinion carry'd it, advising them to make War, as far off home as possible, (that was to the far side of *Attica*) *Phocion* argued, that in these Matters the Place was not so much to be considered, as the probability of Success, for by this the distance of War was to be measured; to be sure, those that were worsted, would have it quickly brought home to their doors. Accordingly Matters succeeding ill, the Innovators and Incendiaries haling up *Charidemus* to the Tribunal, to be nominated to the Command, the best of the Senators were in a panick fear, and call'd a Meeting of the People at *Areopagus*, where with Entreaties and Tears they hardly prevail'd to have *Phocion* prefer'd and intrusted with the care of the City. He was of opinion that the fair Terms *Philip* propos'd, were to be accepted; yet after *Demades* had propounded,

ed, that the City should receive the self-same conditions, that were tender'd to the rest of the States of Greece, he oppos'd it, till it were known what the Particulars were King Philip had demanded. Being over-born in this Advice at that juncture of time, presently after the Athenians sufficiently repented it, when they understood that by them Articles, they were obliged to furnish Philip both with Horse and Shipping : *This, Gentlemen, says he, I foresaw, and therefore oppos'd; but since you have now articul'd, make the best on't, be courageous, and bear it as well as you can, remembering that your Ancestors using their Fortune indifferently, sometimes giving Laws, at other times truckling, perform'd each part with decorum, and preserved not only their own City, but the rest of Greece.*

Upon the news of Philip's Death, he would not suffer the People to make Bonfires, or other publick demonstrations of Joy and Jubileo, minding them how ungenerous it was to insult upon such an occasion, and that the Army that had fought them at Cheronæa, was lessened by one man only.

When Demosthenes made Invectives against Alexander, who was now set down before Thebes, he repeated those Verses of Homer :

*What*

*What mean'st thou, Fool, with rage to swell  
his Breast,  
Already full, with glorious hopes possess'd ?*

*What's this but adding fresh fuel to the  
Fire, and pushing your selves forwards into  
the Flames, that are already devouring the  
Neighbourhood ; for my part ( says he ) I  
will not be consenting to your destroying your  
selves, though you should court me to it, and  
for this end only have I continued my Com-  
mand.*

After Thebes was lost, and Alexander had demanded Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Hyperides and Charidemus to be deliver'd up, the whole Assembly turning their eyes frequently and intently upon him, and calling on him also by Name to deliver his opinion ; at last he rose up, laying hold upon one of his most dear and intimate Friends, that he loved and confided in above all others, telling them, *Sirs, you have brought things amongst you to that pass, that for my part should he demand this my Friend Nicocles, I would not refuse him, and should think it the greatest happiness my self, to sacrifice my own Life and Fortune for your safety. ; for truly, says he, it pierces my heart to see those that are fled hither for Succour from the desolation of Thebes ; and*  
*sure-*

*surely it will be more for the common Interest, that we rather deprecate the Conqueror, and intercede for both, than run the hazard of another Battel.*

When this was decreed by the Commnalty, *Alexander* is said to have rejected their first Address when it was presented, throwing it back scornfully, and turning his back on the Ambassadors, they departed; but the 2<sup>d</sup>. which was presented by *Phocion*, he graciously received, understanding by the grave Seniors, how much *Philip* always held him in the highest Esteem and Veneration; and not only accepted his Memorial and Petition, but also permitted him to advise him; which he did to this effect; that if his Designs were for Peace and Quietness, he should put a stop to his Career; if the *glory of his Arms* were his aim, he should do well to divert them from *Greece*, and turn them on the *Barbarians*. With divers such Insinuations, dextrously fitted to the Humour and *Genius* of *Alexander*, he so won upon him, and softened his Temper, that he was heard to say, The *Athenians* ought to value themselves, for if any thing amiss betided him, they only were worthy of the Sovereignty. Conversing thus with *Phocion* as his Friend and Confident, he did him that Honour, which few of those that

that were next his Person ever received; insomuch that *Douris* reports, when he grew great and high, after the Defeat of *Darius*, he left off the word *Greeting* in all his Letters, except only those that were directed to *Phocion* and *Antipater* he condescended to use it, which also is confirmed by *Chares*. As for his Munificence to him, it is well known he sent him a Present at one time of a 100 Talents, which being brought to *Athens*, *Phocion* demanded of the Bearers, how it came to pass, that among all the rest of the *Athenians*, he alone should be so highly obliged to his Bounty? and being told, that *Alexander* esteemed him (only) a Person of Honour and Worth: *May it please him then*, (said he) *to permit me to continue so, and be still so reputed.* Following him to his House, and observing his simple and plain way of Living, his Wife imploy'd in the Pastry-work with her own hands, himself pumping Water to wash his Feet; they press'd him to accept it, with some Indignation, being ashamed, (as they said) that *Alexander's* Friend should live so poorly and pitifully. *Phocion* taking notice of a poor old Fellow in a tatter'd Coat passing by, asked them, *If they thought him in worse condition than that poor Wretch?* They begg'd his pardon for

for the Comparison ; yet , says he , *this man has less to live upon than I, and is content ; and in short, I must tell you, if this sum be more than I can use, it is altogether superfluous ; if I live up to it, I shall give cause of jealousy both of your Master and myself to the rest of the Citizens.* So the Treasure was returned back from *Atheni*, giving the *Gracians* an illustrious Example, how much truly richer the man is, who by contracting his mind, has no occasion for more, than him who by the largeness of his Fortunes is capable of the largest Munificence. *Alexander* was displeased at this, and writ to him again, acquainting him , *That he could not esteem those his Friends, who thought much to be obliged by him.* Yet neither would this prevail with *Phocion* to accept the Money, but he made use of his favour to intercede for *Echecratides* the Sophist, and *Athenodorus* the *Imbrian*, as also for *Demaratus* and *Sparton*, two *Rhodians*, that had been convicted of certain Crimes, and were in custody at *Sardis*, that he would please to enlarge them : This was presently granted by *Alexander*, and they were set at liberty. Afterwards sending *Craterus* into *Macedonia*, he commanded him to make him an Offer of four Cities in *Asia*, *Cio*, *Gerge-tho*, *Mylassis* and *Elea*, any of which, at his

his choice, should be delivered to him ; being instant with him, and declaring he should resent it, should he continue obstinate in his refusal ; but *Phocion* was not to be prevail'd with at all, and presently after *Alexander* died.

*Phocion's* House is shown to this day in a Village call'd *Melita*, beautify'd with Tyles of Copper , otherways plain and homely. Concerning his Wives ; of the first of them there is little said, save only that she was Sister of *Cephisdotus* the Statuary : The other was a Matron of no less Reputation for Virtue and good Housewifery among the *Athenians*, than *Phocion* for Probity. It happen'd once when the People were entertained with a new Tragedy, he that was to rigg out the Queen and her Attendants, wanted some fine Habits and Accoutrements for the purpose, to make them appear splendid ; which not being provided , the Player was sullen and refused to act, but kept them in expectation, till *Melanthius* the Master of the Revels, push'd him on the Stage, crying out aloud, *What, Sirrah, dont you take notice that Phocion's Wife goes constantly attended with one only waiting Woman, but you must debauch the Sex, and fill the Womens heads with nothing but pride and vanity ?* This free Speech of his was

re-



received with wonderful Applause, and clapp'd by the Audience round the Theater. The same plain Lady, entertaining at her House a Stranger, a spruce Dame of *Ionia*, who show'd her all her Finery of gold Embroidery, rich Jewels, Bracelets, Necklaces, and the like : *For my part, Madam, says she, all my Ornament is my Goodman Phocion, who has commanded the Athenians now this 20 years. Phocion's Son had an ambition to make one at the Exercises performed at Athens in honour of Minerva every 5th. year, which he permitted him to do, not so much to have the Garlands of Victory, (if he approved himself) but for his Health, and to invigorate his Body by manly Labour and Abstinence, the young man being at other times intemperate and a Pot-companion. Having succeeded in the Sports, many offer'd their service to treat his Son with the usual Complements to the Victor, which Honour he refused to all, except one Gentleman. When he came to the Treat, and found it very extravagant upon all accounts, even the Water brought to wash the Guests Feet mingled with Wine and Spices, he reprimanded his Son, asking him, Why he would so far permit his Friend to sully the Honour of his Victory; and endeavouring wholly to wear the*

Παρασκευαίς.

the youngster from such courses and company, he sent him to *Lacedæmon*, and plac'd him among the Youth that were educated according to the custom of that Country. This the *Athenians* took offence at, as though he slighted and contemned the Education at home; and *Demades* twitted him with it publicly, telling him, *Why, Phocion, do not we persuade the Athenians to receive the Laconian Manners and Discipline? If you please to have it so, I am ready to propound such a Law. Yes indeed, said Phocion, it would exceedingly become you that are so powder'd and perfum'd, with that Reveling Habit on your back, to give Speech it in praise of Lycurgus, and invite the Athenians to Colledge Commons.*

φιλιμα, seu  
οειδισια cane  
frugi apud La-  
cones.

When *Alexander* had demanded the Galleys they had agreed to furnish him withal, the Orators opposed the sending them, and the Council demanding *Phocion's* sence, he told them freely; *Sirs, I would either have you make sure of a Victory, or a Friend of the Victor. About that time one Pytheas, a confident talking Fellow, begun to be very impertinent and troublesome with his often prating: Him Phocion check'd, telling him, That it would be better manners for him to be silent, who was but of yesterday among them. At that time Harpalus came from Alexander out*

of *Asia* into *Attica*, with a vast sum of money; at whose arrival the little people of those that use to be hangers on upon the Court, flock'd about him to get something of him: amongst whom he scattered some small largesses to gain them, and tye them by the teeth: But to *Phocion* he made an offer of no less than 700 Talents, and all manner of other advantages he pleas'd to demand; with the Complement from *Alexander*, that he would entirely commit himself and all his affairs to his disposal: To which *Phocion* answer'd sharply, *That if he took such measures, he should dearly repent his projects of corrupting and debauching the Citizens*: Upon which he desisted with regret. After, while the *Athenians* were deliberating in Council about him, he found those that had received Pensions from him, to be his greatest enemies, urging and aggravating matters against him, to prevent themselves being discover'd: But *Phocion* who had clean hands, and whose chief aim was always the Weal-publick, to have some regard also to his particular security. This encourag'd him once more to feel his pulse, and attack him; but he found him like a strong Fortrefs, every way so defended, that even the Golden Key could gain no admittance, on all sides in-

accessible

accessible and impregnable: Yet having made a particular Friendship with *Phocion's* Son in Law *Charicles*, and using him with intire confidence in all his affairs, he brought him into some suspicion: Upon the occasion of *Pythonica* the Curtessan dying, who was *Harpalus's* Mistress, for whom he had a great fondness, and had a Child by her; he resolv'd to build her a sumptuous Monument, and committed the care of it to his Friend *Charicles*. This design, vain enough in it self, was yet further disparag'd by the workmanship, after it was finish'd (for it is yet to be seen in *Hermio*, as we go from *Athens* to *Eleusina*) there appearing nothing answerable to the sum of 30 Talents, said to be accounted by *Charicles* as expended about it. After *Harpalus* his own decease, his Daughter was educated by *Phocion* and *Charicles* with great care; but *Charicles* being question'd by some of *Harpalus* his Relations about his concerns, and intreating his Father in Law's Protection, and that he would appear for him in the Court; *Phocion* refus'd him peremptorily, telling him, *He would espouse his cause, as his Son in Law, only in things worthy and honourable.*

About this time *Asclepiades* the Son of *Hipparchus*, brought the first tidings of

Alexanders Death to Athens, which Demades told them was not to be credited; for were it true, the whole World would feel the stink of the dead Carcass. Phocion perceiving his design of innovating and stirring the People to Sedition, endeavoured to prevent and restrain them, but many of them crowding up to the Bench and crying aloud that it was true what Asclepiades had related; Well then, suppose it, says he, if it be true to day, it will be true to morrow and the next day; so that we have leisure quietly and treatably to consider our security. Leosthenes had a design of imbarquing the Athenians in the Gracian War, which Phocion could not brook, nor forbear him: He ask'd Phocion scoffingly, what the State had been benefited by his Ministry now so many years? Truly not a little, said he, methinks that the Citizens have been quietly laid up in their own Sepulchres: But Leosthenes continuing to huff and swagger in the Assembly, Young man, says Phocion, Your Language is like the Cypress Trees, tall and topping, but without Fruit. After him Hyperides set upon him, demanding of Phocion when the time would come, he would advise the Athenians to make War? Why truly, says he, when I shall find the younger sort tractable and observant of Discipline, the Wealthy forward

Χυδαίνων  
καρπὸς ἢ ἀ-  
δαίο.

forward in their Contributions, and the Lawyers forbear pillaging and robbing the Publick Exchequer. After, when many admired the Forces raised, and the Preparations for War that were made by Leosthenes; they ask'd Phocion how he approved of the new Levies? Very well, says he, for a course, but I apprehend the success of a War, the Commonwealth being wholly destitute both of Treasure, Shipping, and Seamen for the expedition: And the event justify'd his prognostick; yet at first all things appear'd fair and promising, Leosthenes gain'd Reputation by worsting the Boetians in Battle, and driving Antipater within the Walls of Lamia; and the Citizens were so transported with the first successes, that they kept solemn Festivities for them, and instituted publick Sacrifices to the Gods of Victory: So that some, to reproach Phocion for being of contrary sentiments, ask'd him whether now he would not willingly be Author of this successful Action to the Publick? Yes verily, says he, most gladly, but also of the former Counsel. When one Express after another came from the Camp, confirming and magnifying the Victories, Nay then, says he, sure we shall never have done killing and slaying. Leosthenes died soon after, and those that feared lest if Phocion obtain'd the Command, he would

would put an end to the War, dealt with an obscure Fellow in the Assembly, who should stand up and pretend himself to be a Friend and old Crony of *Phocion's*, and perswade the People to spare him at this time, and reserve him for a more pressing occasion, having none comparable to him for Conduct at a pinch; but now to send *Antiphilus* with the Command of the Army. This pleas'd the Generality, but *Phocion* made it appear, he was so far from having any friendship with him of old standing, that he had not so much as the least familiarity with him: Yet now, Sir, says he, *give me leave to put you down among the number of my Friends and Familiars, having advised in my concerns, so much to my advantage.*

Still the *Athenians* being violent to engage against the *Bæotians*, *Phocion* was the first oppos'd it, and his Friends telling him the People would kill him, for always running counter to them; Truly, says he, *it will be hard measure if I advise them honestly, if not, let me suffer.* Whilst they were loud and hot upon't, he commanded the Cryer to make Proclamation, that all the *Athenians* from 16 to 60, should presently prepare themselves with 5 days provision, and immediately follow him from the Assembly: This caused a great

great tumult: Those in years were startled, and clamour'd against the Order; he demanded wherein he injur'd them, For I, says he, *am now fourscore, and am ready to lead you.* This diverted them and pacified them for the present; in the meantime *Micion*, with a great force of *Macedonians* and Mercenaries, was ravaging and pillaging the Sea coast, making a descent into *Ramnunta*, and wasting the Country. Against him *Phocion* was sent and drew out his Army, where some stragglers pragmatically intermeddling in the Marshalling of it, would needs be tutoring him how he should possess himself of such a Hill, and dispose of the Cavalry in such a place, and so and so to range the Battalions to the best advantage: O *Hercules*, says he, *how many Generals have we here, and how few Soldiers?* Afterward having form'd the Battle, one that would seem forward, advanc'd out of his Order before the rest; but the Enemy approaching, his heart fail'd him, and he retired back into his rank: Him he reproach'd, telling him, *Youngster, are you not ashamed twice in one day to desert your Station, both where I had plac'd you, and you had plac'd your self?* But falling on the Enemy with great bravery and resolution, he routed them, killing *Micion* and many

more upon the spot, and afterwards he overcame the *Græcian* Army that was in *Theffaly*, wherein *Leonatus* had joyn'd himself with *Antipater* and the *Macedonians*, that came out of *Asia*: *Leonatus* was kill'd in the Fight, *Antiphilus* commanding the Foot, and *Menon* the *Theffalian*, the Horse. Not long after, *Craterus* coming out of *Asia* with a great Force, another skirmish hapned in *Crannon*, wherein the *Græcians* were worsted, but the loss was not very considerable, nor the number of the slain; yet with their restiveness to their Governors, who were young men, and too mild and indulgent. *Antipater*, in the mean season, also under-hand tampering with the Cities, the *Græcians* utterly lost themselves, and shamefully betrayed the Liberty of their Country.

Upon the news of *Antipater's* approaching *Athens* with all his force, *Demosthenes* and *Hyperides* deserted the City, and *Demades*, who was altogether insolvent for any part of the Fines that had been laid upon him by the City, (for he had been condemn'd no less than 7 times for false Judgments contrary to the known Laws) and having lost his Reputation to that degree, that he was not permitted to Vote in the Assembly, laid hold on this favourable juncture to bring in a Bill for sending

Embassadors

Embassadors with Plenipotentiary Power to *Antipater*, to treat about a Peace; but the people distrusting him and calling upon *Phocion* to give his opinion, as the Person they only and entirely confided in, he said: *My Masters, if my former Counsels had been any thing prevalent with you, we had not been reduc'd to such straits as we now labour under in our deliberations about these matters.* However, the Vote pass'd, and a Decree was made, and he, with others, deputed to go to *Antipater*, who lay now incamped in the *Theban* Territories, but intended suddenly to dislodge, and pass into *Attica*. His first proposal was, that the Treaty might begin whilst he staid in that Country: This was cry'd out upon as unreasonably propounded by *Phocion* (by *Craterus*) to oppress the Country of their Friends and Allies by their stay, since they might rather use that of their Enemies, for provisions and support of their Army. But *Antipater* taking him by the hand, said, *'Tis true, but let us grant this Boon out of respect to Phocion:* And for the rest, he bid them return to their Principals, and acquaint them that he would grant them no other terms, than what he himself had received from *Leosthenes*, then General, when he was shut up in *Lamia*.

When

When *Phocion* had return'd to the City, and acquainted them with this answer, they made a virtue of necessity at this juncture, and comply'd, since it would be no better: So *Phocion* return'd to *Thebes* with other Embassadors, and among the rest, *Zenocrates* the Philosopher, the reputation of whose Prudence and Wisdom was so great and celebrated among the *Athenians*, that they conceiv'd there could not be any thing of mankind so brutal and barbarous, or devoid of common humanity, that even his meen and aspect would not gain upon and create a respect for him; But the contrary hapned by the insolence and ferity of *Antipater's* disposition, who embracing all the rest of his Companions, pass'd *Zenocrates*, by not deigning so much as to salute him, or take the least notice of him: Upon which occasion, *Zenocrates* said, *He was well satisfied he used him so scurvily, since he had the same intentions to the whole City*: As soon as ever he began to speak, *Antipater* thwarted and interrupted him, not suffering him to proceed, but enjoyned him silence: But when *Phocion* had declar'd the purport of their Embassy, he reply'd short and peremptorily, he would make a League with the *Athenians* on these conditions and no others. *That Demosthenes and*

Hype-

*Hyperides* be deliver'd up to him: That the ancient way of Raising Taxes in the City be observ'd: That they should receive a Garrison from him into *Mynichia*: Defray the Charges of the War, and damages sustain'd, and put themselves under Contribution for it. As things stood, these Terms were judg'd tolerable by the rest of the Embassadors: *Zenocrates* said, Truly if *Antipater* reputed them as already his Slaves, they were indifferent; but if he considered them still as Free, they were insufferable. *Phocion* press'd him with much earnestness, only to spare the Garrison, and used many Arguments and Intreaties: *Antipater* reply'd, He should find him compliant in any thing to his request, that did not inevitably tend to the ruin of them both. Others report it differently, that *Antipater* should ask *Phocion*, If he remitted the Garrison to the *Athenians*, he would stand Surety for the City to demean themselves peaceably, and endeavour no Innovations? To which when he demurr'd and made no return; on the sudden *Callimedes* the *Carabian*, a hot man, and a profess'd Enemy to Free States, rose up, asking *Antipater* if he would suffer himself to be juggled withal, and have his confidence abused so far as not to act what he thought most expedient? So the *Athenians* receiv'd the Garrison, and *Me-*  
*nyllus*

*nyllus* for the Governor, a fair condition'd man, and one of *Phocion's* Acquaintance.

This proceeding seem'd sufficiently imperious and arbitrary, indeed rather a spiteful insulting and ostentation of power, than that the possessing himself of that Fortress, would be of any real advantage to his affairs. The resentment of this usage was heightned by the time it hapned in: For it fortun'd the Garrison was brought in in the Month of *August*, just at the time of the great Festival, when *Bacchus* was carried with solemn Pomp from the City to *Eleusina*; so that the Solemnity being disturb'd, many began to recollect what had happen'd at the time of those Rites both anciently and modernly: For of old, in their greatest prosperity, there had been odd appearances seen, and Voices heard at the time of their Celebration, which strook terror and amazement into their Enemies; but now at the same season, the Gods themselves stood Witnesses of the extream oppressions of *Greece*; the Holy Time being prophan'd, and their greatest Jubilee made the unlucky date of their most extream calamity. Not many years before, they had brought an Advertisement from the Oracle at *Dodona*, That they should carefully Guard the Promontory of *Diana's Temple*,

ple, and secure it from the possession of Strangers: And about the same time when they dyed the Ribbons and Garlands, with which they adorn'd the Pageants in devotion to her; instead of a Purple, they receiv'd only a faint dead colour, and which added to the Omen, all those things that were dyed for common use, took the natural colour. Also a Sacrificer washing a Porket in the Haven, whilst it was calm, a *Shark* seiz'd on him, bit off all his hinder parts to the Belly, and devoured them; by which they imagin'd the God gave them apparently to understand, that having already lost the lower parts of their Territories, towards the Sea coast, they should more carefully guard those towards the City.

Now the Garrison under *Menyllus* was no ways offensive to those of the better sort, but of the meaner sort, the number of whom (who by reason of their poverty were not taxed) were reckon'd in the City to be above 12000; those that remain'd in the City thought themselves oppress'd and affronted, and those that had gone away into *Thrace*, on whom *Antipater* had bestow'd a Town, and some Territories to inhabit, accounted themselves only as a Colony of Slaves and Exiles. *Demosthenes* dyed at that time in *Calabria*,

Calabria, and *Hyperides* at *Cleona*, a City of Greece, (as we have elsewhere related) which put the Citizens in mind of the death of *Philip* and *Alexander*, and almost wishing the return of those times. Just as after *Antigonus* was slain, and those that had taken him off, afterwards more grievously afflicting and oppressing the People; a Countryman in *Phrygia* digging in the Fields, was ask'd what he was doing? *I am*, says he, (fetching a deep sigh) *searching again for Antigonus*. So said many that remembred those days, and the disputes they had with those Kings, whose anger, however great, was yet generous and placable; whereas *Antipater*, with the counterfeited humility of appearing like a private man, in the meanness of his Habit and homely Fare, covered the haughtiness of his Mind, and insolently abusing his power, was indeed insufferable to those under his Command, being extream Lordly and Tyrannical. Yet *Phocion* had interest with him to recal many from Banishment by his intreaty, and prevail'd also for those that fled away, that they might not, like others, be hurried beyond *Fenarus* and the Mountains of *Ceraunia*, but remain in Greece, and plant themselves in *Peleponnesus*, of which number was *Agnonides* the Syco-phant.

phant. He no less studiously manag'd the affairs within the City, with signal Equity and Moderation, preferring constantly those that were Men of Worth and Temper to the Magistracy; keeping out the factious and turbulent, lest they should abuse their power to raise stirs, and those that were decayed, he advis'd <sup>Ἀποκλείωντας</sup> to retire into the Country, and mind tillage. Observing that *Zenocrates* payed his Assessments as a Foreigner, he would have perswaded him to accept of his freedom; which he refus'd, saying: *He could not receive it from that City, whose Liberties and Franchises were doomed, when he himself was one of the Embassadors*. *Menyllus* offer'd *Phocion* a considerable Sum of Money, who, thanking him, said, *Neither was he greater than Alexander, nor his own occasions more urgent to receive it now, who then refused it from him*: But still pressing him to permit his Son *Phocus* to receive it, he replyed; *If my Son returns to his right mind, his Patrimony is sufficient, if not, in the courses he now takes, all supplies will be insignificant*. But to *Antipater* he answered more tartly, who would have him engaged in something dishonourable; *Antipater*, says he, *can't use me both as a Friend and a Flatterer*. And indeed *Antipater* was wont to say, he had



two Friends at *Athens*, *Phocion* and *Demades*, the one would never suffer him to gratifie him at all, the other would never be satisfied : For *Phocion's* Virtue made his Poverty appear reputable, having so oft been Commander in Chief of the *Athenians*, and admitted to the friendship of so many Potentates, he had yet grown old and poor in the service of the Commonwealth : But *Demades* prided himself by lavishing his Wealth, to break in upon the publick Constitutions and affront them : For there having been an Order that no Foreigner should be entertain'd to Dance at the Publick Shows, on the penalty of 1000 *Drachma's* to be levied on him that should exhibit them ; his vanity was so great to hire 100 Strangers, and paid the Fine for them all in ready Cash upon the Stage. Marrying his Son *Demeas* at that time, he told him with the like vanity, Son, when I married your Mother, it was done so privately it was not known to the next Neighbours ; but Kings and Princes show themselves forward to present you at your Nuptials.

Still this Garrison was a grievous eyesore to the Commonalty among the *Athenians*, and they ceased not clamouring upon *Phocion*, to prevail with *Antipater* for its removal ; but when he despair'd

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of effecting it, or rather observed the People more governable, and behaving themselves more orderly, by the Awe that was upon them, he constantly declined that Office ; yet as to the Money-matter, effectually obtained of him, not to demand the Subsidy agreed on, but prolonged the time of its payment. So the People, leaving him off, apply'd themselves to *Demades*, who readily undertook the Employment, and took along with him his Son also into *Macedonia* ; the Devil, as it seem'd, owing him a shame, he came just at that nick of time, when *Antipater* was seized with Sickness, and *Cassander* taking upon himself the Command, had found a Letter of *Demades's*, formerly writ by him to *Antigonus* in *Asia*, moving him to take upon himself the Empire of *Greece* and *Macedonia*, which now stood upon an old and rotten Stalk, so rallying *Antipater*.

So when *Cassander* heard of his coming, he seized him, and having caused his Son to be brought before his Face, slew him, so ordering it, that the Son's Blood should fly upon the Father, and bedaube him ; after, bitterly taunting and upbraiding him with his Ingratitude and Treachery, he dispatch't him.

*Antipater* (having nominated *Polyperchon* General, and *Cassander* Colonel) being dead, *Cassander* presently set up for himself, and immediately dispatch't *Nicanor* to *Menyllus*, to be his Successor in the *Athenian* Garrison, commanding him to possess himself of it, before the News of *Antipater's* Death should be bruited abroad. Which being done, and some days after the *Athenians* hearing the Report of it, *Phocion* was taxt, as privy to it before, and censured heavily for dissembling it, as a Friend and Confederate of *Nicanor's*: but he slighted their tittle tattle, and meeting oft and conferring with *Nicanor*, made it his business to render him civil and obliging to the *Athenians*, and not only so, but perswaded him to some Expence upon them, and have some Shows at his own charge to entertain the People. In the mean time, *Polyperchon*, to whose Care the chief Affairs were committed, to countermine *Cassander*, writ a cunning Letter to the City, declaring, that they were restored to their ancient Priviledges and Immunities, and were at entire liberty to govern their Commonwealth, according to their ancient Customs and Constitutions. The bottom of these Pretences was meer Stratagem and Trick, levell'd principally against

against *Phocion*, as the Event manifested it self; for *Polyperchon's* design being to possess himself of the City, he despaired altogether of bringing it to pass, whilst *Phocion* lived, and in Credit: but the most certain way to ruine him, would be again to bring into play the *Demagogues*, who had been put out of Office for seditious Practices, and restore them to their Places of Trust, both in the Courts of Judicature, and their Votes in Common-Council. Thus the *Populace* being let loose, presently great Commotions happen'd in *Athens*, which *Nicanor* endeavouring to compose, call'd the Senate together into the *Pyraum*, and came thither himself, committing himself to *Phocion* for his security; but one *Dercyllas*, a Captain of the Train-bands in the Suburbs, attempting to seize him, he having some hint of it, withdrew himself, giving out that he would suddenly right himself upon the City for this Affront. *Phocion* was accused for being near him, and not seizing him, as he was required; but he defended himself saying, that he had no manner of mistrust of *Nicanor*, nor the least reason to expect any mischief from him; but should it prove otherwise, for his part he would have them all know, he had rather receive,

*Locus 5, vel 6.  
miliar. Ital.  
distant, ubi  
Templum Dia-  
ne Aynich.*

than do an ill thing to any man. This Carriage of *Phocion's*, fairly and simply considered, would appear extream generous and Gentleman-like ; yet looking upon a man standing in relation to his Countrey, now endanger'd, and that in the highest station of Power and Authority, there is something (methinks) of prior Consideration and original Obligation of Justice, in discharging the Trust reposed in him, to be regarded, much rather than such Points of Honour : for it is not a satisfactory pretence to say, that he dreaded the involving the City in War, by seizing *Nicanor*, nor that in Honour and Justice he could not lay hands on a man, who had given him all the assurance and security in the world, that he would no ways molest or disturb the *Athenian* State ; but it was, indeed, his Credulity and Confidence in him, and an over-weening opinion of his Sincerity, that impos'd upon him : so that notwithstanding the sundry Intimations he had from those that accused him of having Designs on the *Pyraeum*, and sending numbers of Mercenaries into *Salamina*, besides his tampering with, and endeavouring to corrupt those of *Pyraeum*, ( where his Garrison stood ) he would ( notwithstanding all this Evidence ) never

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ver be perswaded to believe it. Nay further, although *Philomedes*, the Son of *Lampres*, had got a Decree pass'd, that all the *Athenians* should stand to their Arms, and be ready to follow *Phocion* their General, he yet sat still and secure, till such time as *Nicanor* had actually brought down Arms and Ammunition from *Mynichia* to *Pyraeum*, and begun to draw Trenches round it. Whilst these things were transacted, when *Phocion* (at last) would have led out the *Athenians*, they mutined against him, and slighted his Orders.

*Alexander*, the Son of *Polyperchon*, was at hand with a considerable Force, pretended to be for succour of the City against *Nicanor*, but intended nothing less (if possible) than to surprize the City, whilst they were in Tumult, and divided among themselves : for those that had been banished, getting into the City, to whom the Foreigners joyned themselves, and all the Rabble rout thronging into them, they made up an odd irregular mixt Convention, wherein they presently divested *Phocion* of all Power, and chose to themselves other Commanders ; and if by chance *Alexander* had not been spy'd from the Walls, alone, and in close Consult with *Nicanor*, and given the

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*Athenians* just cause of Suspicion, certainly the City at that moment had run a great Risque. Immediately the Orator *Agnonides* fell foul upon *Phocion*, and impeach't him of Treason: *Callimedes* and *Pericles* fearing the worst, consulted their own security by flying from the City: *Phocion*, with a few of his Friends that stay'd with him, went over to *Polyperchon*, and out of Respect, *Solon* of *Plataea*, and *Dinarchus* of *Corinth*, accompany'd him, being reputed Friends and Confidants of *Polyperchon*. But *Dinarchus* enjoying ill Health, they remained many days in *Elatei*, a City of *Phocis*, situate near the Mountain *Aerorium*. During which time *Agnonides* promoting it, *Archestratus* procured a Decree, that the People should send Delegates thither to accuse *Phocion*: so both of them waited upon *Polyperchon*, who was with the King viewing the Countrey, and was then at a small Village of *Phocis*, *Pharygas*, now call'd *Galate*.

There *Polyperchon* having pitch't a Royal Tent of Cloth of Gold for the King and his Friends, caus'd *Dinarchus* to be brought without further Ceremony, and having first tormented him, caus'd him to be slain; then he gave Audience to the Ambassadors, who fill'd the Place with

Noise

Noise and Tumult, peaching and accusing one another; *Agnonides* approaching, entreated they might all be shut up together in an iron Grate, and convey'd to *Athens*, there to decide the Controversie: At that the King could not forbear smiling; but the Company that attended, *Macedonians* and *Strangers*, that now had leisure enough, were eager to see the Scuffle, and hear them pelt one another, made Signs to the Delegates to go on with their Accusations. But it was far from a fair Hearing, nothing equitable could be obtained; *Polyperchon* frequently interrupted *Phocion*, and at last knocking with his Battoon on the Ground, refus'd him absolutely, and commanded him Silence. *Hegemon* appeal'd to *Polyperchon* himself, as one that well knew how studious he had been of the Interest of the People; to which he reply'd furiously, *Forbear to belye me before the King*: the King starting up was about to have darted him through with his Javelin, but *Polyperchon* interposed and hinder'd him; so the Assembly was dissolved.

*Phocion* then and those about him were put into Custody; but those of his Friends that were at some distance, observing this, hiding their Faces, endeavour'd to save themselves by Flight: but

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*Clitus* perceived them, and brought them back to *Athens*, pretendedly, to purge themselves, but in truth, as men already sentenced to die. The manner of conveying them was indeed extream moving; they were carried in Chariots through *Cerameicum*, straight to the Place of Judicature, where *Clitus* secured them till they had call'd a Hall, which was open to all Comers; neither Foreigners, nor Slaves, nor any of the Rascality, being refused Admittance, but was free to all, Men, Women and Children, being allowed to seat themselves in the Court, and even upon the Bench: where having read the *King's* Letters, wherein he declared, he was abundantly satisfied that these men were Traitors; however, they being a free City, he willingly indulged them the Grace of trying and judging them according to their own Laws; *Clitus* brought in his Prisoners. The men of highest Quality blush'd at the sight of *Phocion*, and hanging down their Heads, could not forbear Tears: One of them was so hardy to say, Since the *King* was so gracious to permit them freedom in Judgment, he thought it reasonable to dismiss the Strangers, and those of servile condition, from the Assembly; but the Populace would not endure it, crying out,

out, They were Enemies to the Commonwealth, and Betrayers of the Liberty of the People, and deserved to be stoned that sided with the Nobility; after which no man durst offer any thing farther in *Phocion's* behalf. He was scarce suffer'd to be heard, when he demanded, If they intended to put them to death by form of Law or not? Some answer'd, According to Law: He reply'd, How should that be done, except we have a fair Hearing? But when they were deaf to all he said, approaching nearer, *As to my self*, says he, *I confess the Crime, and submit my self to the Judgment of the Law, but for these my Friends, O ye men of Athens, what have they done to deserve the Sentence, having in nothing offended you?* The Rabble cry'd out, They were his Friends and Complices, that was enough. Hearing this, he drew back as one struck dumb.

Then *Agonides* read the Bill of *Attainder*, whereby the People were impowred to have a Poll for majority of Voices, whether they judg'd them *Guilty*; and if so it should be found, to be sentenced to Death. The Names being read, some were so brutish to desire it might be added to the Sentence, That *Phocion* should not only die a simple Death, but be tortured

red also, and that the Rack should be produced with the Tormentors : but *Agonides* perceiving even *Clitus* himself to dislike this, esteeming it a thing most horrid and barbarous; says he, *If we can take that Villain Callimedon, O ye Athenians! let us serve him so with all my heart, but I can't consent Phocion should be used so* : And one of those that were better minded, rose up, saying, *Thou art in the right, if Phocion be tortured, what dost thou deserve thy self?* So the Sentence was ratified, taking every man's Vote singly, no man sitting down, but all rising up, and some with Garlands on their Heads condemn'd them all to death.

There were with *Phocion*, *Niccles*, *Theudippus*, *Hegemon* and *Pythacles* : moreover *Demetrius* the *Phalarcan*, *Callimedon*, *Charicles* and some others, were in the same Condemnation, being absent. After the Assembly were dismiss'd, they were remanded to Prison, some of their Friends following them, embracing and weeping over them, and making great Lamentation. *Phocion's* Countenance was not chang'd, but went with the same undaunted Look, he used to be followed from the Court to the Camp, whilst he was their General; that most men admired the Bravery and Magnanimity of the man,

man, yet some sneaking Fellows of his Enemies insulted over him, reviling and abusing him as he pass'd : And one coming up to him, spit in his face; at which *Phocion*, turning to the Officers, only said, *Will no body correct this Fellow's Rudeness?* *Theudippus*, when he observed the Executioner tempering the Poyson, and preparing it for them, was disorder'd, and began to bemoan his condition, and the hard measure he received so unjustly to suffer upon *Phocion's* account : *What*, says he, *dost thou not think it creditable to run the same Fate with Phocion?* One of his Friends that stood by, askt him, *If he would have any thing to his Son?* Yes, by all means, says he, *command him from mee to forget the Athenian's ill Treatment of his Father.* Then *Niccles*, the dearest and most faithful of his Friends, begg'd of him first to drink the Poyson : *Ah!* my Friend, says he, *this is the most harsh and ungrateful Request thou ever madest me; but since through my whole Life, I have never deny'd thee any thing, I must gratifie thee in this also.* Having all drunk, there wanted of the due Proportion, and the Executioner refused to prepare more, except they would pay him 12 Drachma's, to defray the charge of a full Draught. Some delay was made, and the time spent;

*ΟΛΟΙ, mensa-  
ra & pml. ge-  
nus.*

spent; *Phocion* call'd one of his Friends that stood by: *What*, says he, *can't a man die on Free-cost among the Athenians?* and bid him give him a small spill of Money.

It was the 19<sup>th</sup>. day of the Month *My-nichion*, when there was accustomed to be solemn Processions in the City, in Honour of *Jupiter*: The Horsemen, as they pass'd by, some of them threw away their Garlands, others stopt at the Prison-doors, bitterly weeping, and casting most doleful Looks towards the Place of Execution; and as many of the rest, whose Minds were not absolutely debauch't by Spight and Passion, or had any spark of Humanity left, acknowledged it to be most wicked and ungodly; at least, not to have reprieved them that day, and purge the City from Blood and Slaughter at the solemn Festival. But as if all this had been small Game, the Malice of *Phocion's* Enemies went yet higher, to endeavour that his dead Corps might be thrown out of the City-boundaries; none of the *Athenians* daring to light a Funeral Pile, to burn the Body, after their manner; neither durst any of his Friends presume to concern themselves about his Body, only one *Conopion*, a man accustomed to tho se Offices, having procured the Body,

dy, at his own Expence, to be carry'd beyond *Eleusina*, borrowed Fire from a Woman of *Megara*, and burnt it; the Woman her self, with her Servant-maids, being present and assistant at the Solemnity, casting up a small Monument for him, performed the customary Offerings; and gathering up his Bones in her Lap, and carrying them by night, digg'd a Place by the Fire side in her House, saying, *Dear Gods, Guardians of this Place, here I deposite the Remains of this excellent Person, and you, I beseech you, protect and restore them to the Sepulcher of his Ancestors, when the Athenians return again to their right Minds.*

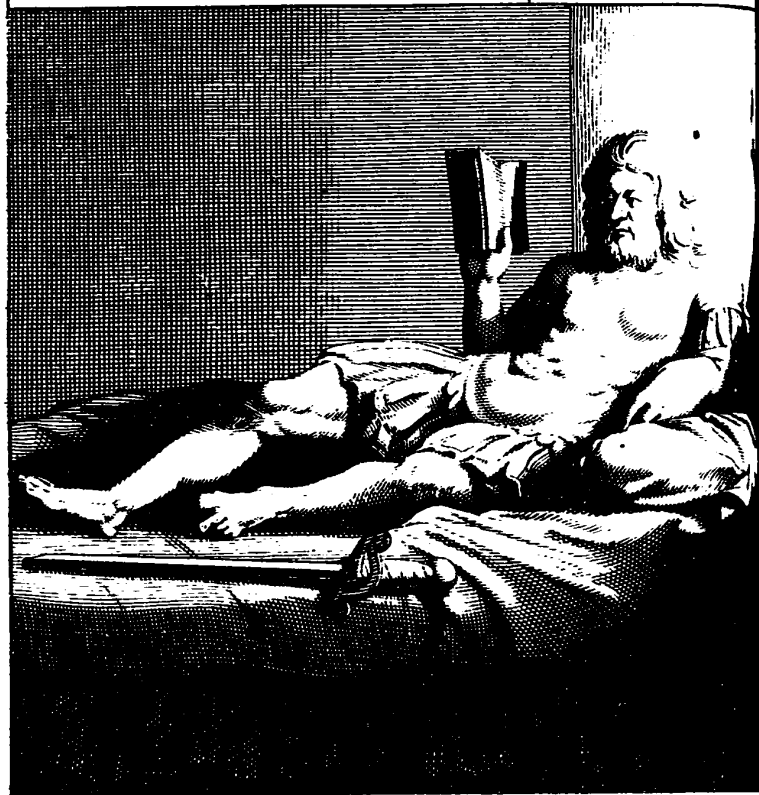
And, indeed, a very little Time, and their own sad Experience, soon informed them, what an excellent Governour, and how great an Example and Patron of Justice and all Virtue, they had bereft themselves of: And now they decreed him a Statue of Brass, and his Bones to be buried honourably at the publick Charge; and for his Accusers, *Agonides* they took themselves, and caused him to be put to death; *Epicurus* and *Demophilus*, that fled from the City for fear, his Son met with, and took his Revenge upon them. This Son of his they report not otherways to be considerable, only a man

of Pleasure, that was enamour'd of a Wench kept by a common Bawd ; and happening one day to hear *Theodorus* the Atheist talking at this rate, that if a man might venture to rescue his Friend, why not his Mistress ? and if not one, why the other ? The Argument hitting his Humour, encouraged him to take away the Girl by force. But this Fate of *Phocion's*, revived the Memory of *Socrates* among the *Gracians*, their Case being exactly parallel, both their Deaths being alike, the most shameful Fault, and heavy Misfortune of the People of *Athens*.

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## CATO IUNIOR.



THE  
LIFE  
OF  
CATO  
the Younger.

English'd from the Greek.

*Eccē Parens verus Patrice: dignissimus ar  
Roma tuis. — Nil causâ fecit in arm  
Ipse suâ: Studiis Odÿsque carens.  
At frustra Leges et inania Jura tuenti  
Scire Mori Sors optima.*

Murg. sculp.

Lucan:

THE House of *Cato* derived its Lustre and Glory from his Great-Grandfather *Cato*; one that by his Virtue gained a very great Reputation and Authority among the *Romans*, as we have written in his Life. This

This *Cato*, was, by the loss of both his Parents, left an Orphan, together with his Brother *Cepio*, and his Sister *Porcia*; *Servilia* also was his Sister by the Mother's side. All these lived together, and were bred up in the House of *Livius Drusus*, their Uncle by the Mother; who at that time had a great share in the Government; for he was very Eloquent, remarkably Just, and in Wisdom not inferior to any of the *Romans*.

'Tis said of *Cato*, that he did, even from his Infancy, in his Speech, his Countenance, and all his childish Pastimes, discover an inflexible Temper, unmoved by any Passion, and firm in every thing.

He would force himself, much beyond the strength of his Age, to go through with what ever he undertook. He was rough and ungentle toward them that flattered him; but yet more stubborn and untractable to those who threatned him. He was very difficultly moved to laugh; and was rarely seen to smile. Not quickly or easily provoked to Anger; but if once incensed, he was no less difficultly pacified.

When he began to learn, he proved dull, and slow to apprehend; but what he

he once conceived, he very faithfully retained. And truly 'tis usual in Nature, that men of quick Apprehensions have not the best Memories; but those who receive things with most pains and difficulty, remember them with most exactness: for every new thing that is learnt, seems to make some new impression upon the Mind. Hence the difficulty there was in *Cato* to be moved, made it the more difficult for him to be taught; for to learn is to suffer a kind of Alteration: and it happens, that those are most easily wrought upon, who have least strength to oppose what is offered. Hence young men are sooner perswaded, than those that are more in years; and Sick-men, than those that are well in Health: in fine, where the Resistance is least powerful, the Impression is most easily made. Yet *Cato* (they say) was very obedient to his Schoolmaster, and would do whatever he was commanded; but he would also ask the Reason, and enquire the Cause of every thing: and indeed his Schoolmaster was a very courteous man, more ready to instruct, than to beat his Scholars; his Name was *Sarpedo*.

When *Cato* was a Child, the Allies of the *Romans* sued to be made free-Citizens of Rome. *Pompeius Sillo*, one of their

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Deputies, a brave Souldier, and a man of great worth, who had contracted a Friendship with *Drusus*, lodged at his House for several days, in which Time being grown familiar with the Children, *Well*, (said he to them) *will you entreat your Uncle to be-friend us in our Business?* *Cæpio* smiling, seemed to consent; but *Cato* made no Answer, only he looked stedfastly and fiercely on the Strangers: Then said *Pompædus*, *And you young man, what say you to us? will not you, as well as your Brother, intercede with your Uncle in our behalf?* *Cato* continued still unmoved; but by his Silence and his Countenance seeming to deny their Petition, *Pompædus* snatch'd him up to the Window, as if he would throw him out: then he urged him to consent, or he would fling him down, and speaking in a harsher Tone, held his Body out of the Window, and shook him several times. When *Cato* had suffered this a good while, unmoved and unconcerned, *Pompædus* setting him down, said softly to his Friends, *What a Blessing is this Child to Italy? if he were a Man, I believe we should not gain one Voice among the People.* Another time, one of his Relations, on his Birth-day, invited *Cato* and some other Children to Supper, who diverting themselves in a

part

part of the House, were at Play all together, the elder and the younger; their Play was to act the Pleadings before the Judges, accusing one another, and carrying away the Condemned to Prison. Among these, a very beautiful young Child being bound and carried by a bigger into Prison, he cryed out to *Cato*; who presently run to the Door, and thrusting away those who stood there as a Guard, took out the Youth, and went home in great Anger, followed by all his Companions.

*Cato* at length grew so famous among them, that when *Sylla* designed to exhibit the Game of young men riding Races on Horseback, which they called the *Trojan Course*, having got together all the Youth of Quality, he appointed two for their Leaders. One of them they accepted for his Mother's sake, which was the Son of *Metella*, the Wife of *Sylla*; but for the other, which was *Sextus*, the Nephew of *Pompey*, they would not be led by him, nor exercised under him: then *Sylla* asking, Whom they would have? They all cryed out, *Cato*; and *Sextus* willingly yielded the Honour to him, as the more worthy Person.

*Sylla*, having had a Friendship with their Father, did often send for *Cato* and

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his Brother, and would talk familiarly with them; a Favour which he shewed to very few, by reason of the great Power and high Station which he had gotten. *Sarpedo*, considering the Advantage hereof, as well for the Honour as the Safety of his Scholars, did often bring *Cato* to wait upon *Sylla* at his House, which, for the multitude of those that were slain, imprisoned, and tormented there, looked like a Place of Execution. *Cato* was then about 14 years old; now seeing the Heads of great Men brought thither, and observing the secret Sighs of those that were present, he asked his Schoolmaster, *Why does no body kill this Man? Because* (said he) *they fear him, Child, more than they hate him: Why then* (replied *Cato*) *do you not give me a Sword, that I may stab him, and free my Countrey from this Slavery?* *Sarpedo* hearing this, and at the same time seeing his Countenance full of Anger and Fury, took care thenceforward to watch him strictly, lest he should fall into any desperate Attempt.

While he was yet very young; to some that asked him, Whom he loved best? He answered, His Brother: And being asked, Whom next? He replied, His Brother again: So likewise the third time; and still the same, till they left off

to ask any farther. As he grew in Age, this Love to his Brother increased; for when he was about 20 years old, he never supped, never went out of Town, nor into the *Forum*, without *Cæpio*; but when his Brother made use of Oyntments and Perfumes, these *Cato* rejected: And he was in the whole course of his Life very regular and austere; so that when *Cæpio* was admired for his Moderation and Temperance, he would acknowledge, that indeed he might be accounted such, in respect of some other men; but (said he) *when I compare myself with Cato, methinks I differ not at all from Sippius*; one at that time notorious for Softness and Luxury.

*Cato*, being made one of *Apollo's* Priests, changed his Habitation, took his portion of their paternal Inheritance, and began to live yet more severely than before. Having gained an intimate Acquaintance with *Antipater*, the Stoick Philosopher, he bent himself chiefly to the Study of Moral Philosophy and Politicks.

He was carried, as it were, by a kind of Inspiration, to embrace every Virtue; but most inclined, to delight in a sort of steady Justice, that was not to be wrought upon by Favour or Compassion. He learned also the Art of speaking in pub-

lick; which he looked upon as a thing no less requisite for governing, than the Art of War, for defending a City. But he would never recite his Speeches before Company; nor was he ever heard declaim: And to one that told him, Men blamed his Silence; *but I hope not my Life, (said he) and I will then begin to speak, when I think I can say something that is worth being spoken.*

There was a great Hall, which had been built and dedicated to the Publick by old Cato; here the Tribunes of the People used to keep Court, and because a certain Pillar seemed not to stand well for the convenience of their Benches, they deliberated, whether it were best to remove it only, or to take it away. This Business first drew Cato into the Forum, tho' much against his will; for he therein opposed the Tribunes, and at the same time gave an admirable Specimen both of his Courage and his Eloquence. His Speech had nothing in it of childish or affected, but was rough, vehement, and full of sense; besides he had a certain grace in speaking, which charmed the Ear, and agreed well with the shortness of his Sentences, and something of Mirth and Raillery mingled with the Gravity of his Temper, was not unpleasant to his Auditors. His Voice was

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was full, sounding, and sufficient to be heard by so great a Multitude. His Vigour, and the strength of his Body indefatigable; for he could speak a whole day, and never be weary.

When he had carried this Cause, he betook himself again to his Study and Retirement; where he accustomed his Body to Labour and violent Exercise: would use himself to go bare-headed both in hot and cold Weather. When he went abroad with any of his Friends, tho' they were on Horseback, and he on Foot, yet he would often joyn now one, then another, and discourse with them on the way.

In Sickness, admirable was the Patience he shewed in supporting; and the Abstinence he used, for curing his Distempers. One time when he had an Ague, he would be alone all the day long, and suffer no body to see him, till he began to recover, and found the Fit was over. At Supper when he threw Dice for the choice of the Messes, and lost, the Company offered him nevertheless his choice; but he refused, saying,  
\* *Venus forbids.*

At first he was wont to drink only once after Supper, and then go away; but in process of time he grew to drink more,

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\* Alluding to the lucky Chance, called Venus.

insomuch that oftentimes he would continue at Table till morning. This his Friends excused ; for that the State Affairs took him up all day, and he being desirous of Knowledge, did pass the night at Table in the Conversation of Philosophers. Hence one *Memmius* saying in Company, That *Cato* spent whole nights in Drinking ; *but you cannot say* (replied *Cicero*) *that he spends whole days in Playing.*

*Cato* esteemed the Customs and Manners of Men at that time so corrupt, and a reformation in them so necessary, that he thought it requisite in many things, to go contrary to the ordinary way of the World. Wherefore seeing the lightest and gayest Colours were most in fashion, he would always wear Black : and he would often go out of doors without either Shoos or Coat ; not that he sought Vain-glory from such Novelties, but he would accustom himself to be ashamed only of what deserves shame, and to despise all other sorts of disgrace.

The Estate of one *Cato*, his Cousin-german, (which was worth 100 Talents) falling to him, he turned it all into ready Money, which he kept by him for any of his Friends that should happen to want, to whom he would lend it without use ;  
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for some of them, he suffered his own Land and his Slaves to be mortgaged to the publick Treasury.

When he thought himself of an Age fit to marry, having never before known any Woman, he was contracted to *Lepida*, who had before been contracted to *Metellus Scipio* ; but he having quitted her, the Contract was dissolved, and she at liberty : yet *Scipio* afterward repenting himself, did all he could to regain her, before the Marriage with *Cato* was compleat ; and therein succeeded. At which *Cato* was very much incensed, and resolved to go to Law about it ; but his Friends perswaded him to the contrary : however he was so moved by the heat of Youth and Passion, that he writ Iambicks against *Scipio*, which had all the Wit and Satyr of *Archilochus*, without his Impudence and Scurrility. After this he married *Atilia*, the Daughter of *Sorranus*, which was the first, but not the only Woman he ever knew ; in this much less happy than *Laelius*, the Friend of *Scipio*, who in the whole course of so long a Life never knew but one Woman.

In the War made by the Rebellion of the Slaves, (which was named from *Spartacus* their Ring-leader) *Gellius* was General ; and *Cato* went a Voluntier, for  
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the sake of his Brother *Cepio*, who was a Colonel in that Army. But *Cato* could find no opportunity to shew his Courage, or exercise his Valour, by reason of the ill Conduct of the General ; however amidst the Corruption and Disorders of that Army, he shewed such a love of Discipline, so much Bravery upon occasion, and so much Wisdom in every thing, that it appeared he would not be any way inferior to the old *Cato*. Whereupon *Gellius* offered him great Rewards, and would have decreed him considerable Honours ; which he refused, saying, He had done nothing that deserved them ; and this made him be thought a man of a very odd Humour.

There was a Law, That the Candidates who stood for any Office, should not have Prompters to tell them the Names of the Citizens. *Cato*, when he sued to be elected *Military Tribune*, was the only man that obeyed that Law ; he took great pains to salute those he met, and call them by their Names. Yet for these things he was envied, even by those who praised him ; for the more they considered the Excellency of what he did, the more they were grieved at the difficulty they found to do the like. Now being chosen *Military Tribune*, he

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was sent into *Macedon* after *Rubrius*, who was General there. It is said, that his Wife shewing much Concern, and weeping at his Departure, *Munatius*, one of *Cato's* Friends said to her, *Do not trouble your self*, *Atilia*, *I'll take care to keep him for you ; ay, by all means*, replied *Cato*. When they had gone one days Journey together ; *Well*, said he to *Munatius*, *that you may be sure to keep your promise to Atilia, you must not leave me day nor night ;* and then ordered two Beds to be made in his own Chamber, that *Munatius* might lye there : so that he seemed rather to be kept by *Cato*. There went with him fifteen Slaves, two Freed-men, and four of his Friends ; these rode on Horseback, but *Cato* always went on Foot, yet would he keep by them, and discourse with them on the way.

When he came to the Army, which consisted of many Legions, the General gave him the Command of one ; but *Cato* looked upon it as a small matter, and not worthy a Command, to make his own single Valour appear only ; therefore he desired to make his Souldiers like himself. Yet he did not thereby loose the Reverence due to his Command, but joyned Reason to his Authority ; for he perswaded and instructed every one in par-

particular, and on all bestowed Rewards or Punishments according to desert. At length his Men were so well disciplined, that it was hard to say, whether they were more peaceable, or more warlike; more valiant, or more just: they were dreadful to their Enemies, and courteous to their Companions; fearful to do wrong, and forward to gain Honour. Thus *Cato*, tho’ he never fought, yet easily acquired Glory and Repute; was highly esteemed by all men, but entirely beloved by the Souldiers. What-ever he commanded to be done, he himself took part in the performing. In his Apparel, his Diet and Labour, he was more like a common Souldier than an Officer; but in Virtue, Courage and Wisdom, he far exceeded all that had the Name of Commanders. By these means he made himself greatly beloved, and was therefore the more willingly followed: for the true love of Virtue, is in all men produced by the Love and Respect they bear to him that teaches it; and those who praise good men, yet do not love them, may extol their Glory, but will never imitate their Virtue.

At that time there dwelt in *Pergamum*, one *Athenodorus*, surnamed *Cordylus*, a Man very well versed in the Stoick Philosophy,

phy, who was now grown old, and had always refused the Friendship and Acquaintance of Princes and great Men. *Cato* understood this; so that imagining he should not be able to prevail with him by sending or writing; and being by the Laws allowed two months absence from the Army, he resolved to go into *Asia*, to see *Athenodorus*: and considering the great worth of the Man, he hoped he should not loose his labour. When *Cato* had discoursed with him, and perswaded him from his former Resolutions, he returned and brought him to the Army, as joyful and as proud of this success, as if he had done some heroick Exploit, greater than any of those of *Pompey* or *Lucullus*, who at that time subdued so many Nations and Kingdoms.

While *Cato* was yet in the Army, his Brother, on a Journey toward *Asia*, fell sick at *Ænus* in *Thrace*, and immediately dispatched Letters to him. The Sea was very rough, and no convenient great Vessel to be had; yet *Cato*, getting into a little Passage-boat, with only two of his Friends, and three Servants, set Sail from *Thessalonica*, and having very narrowly escaped drowning, he arrived at *Ænus* just as *Cæpio* expired. Upon this occasion *Cato* shewed himself more a fond Bro-



Brother than a Philosopher, not only in the excess of Grief, bewailing and embracing the dead Body, but also in the extravagant Expences of the Funeral, wherein a vast quantity of rich Perfumes and costly Garments were burnt with the Corps; besides, he erected in the Forum of the *Æmians*, a Monument of *Thasian* Marble, which cost eight Talents. This some blamed, as not suiting with *Cato's* usual Moderation in other things; but they did not consider, that tho' he were stedfast, firm, and inflexible to Pleasure, Fear, or fond Entreaties, yet he was full of natural Tenderness, and brotherly Affection. Divers of the Cities and Governours of the Countrey, sent him many Presents, to honour the Funerals of his Brother; but he took none of their Money, only the Perfumes and Ornaments he received, and paid for them also. Afterward, when the Estate was divided between him and *Cæpio's* Daughter, he did not require the Funeral Expences to be discharged. Notwithstanding all this, a certain Writer has affirmed, that he made his Brother's Ashes be passed through a Sieve, to find the Gold that was melted down with the Body: but surely that \* Person thought, his VVritings, as well as his Actions, should never be subject to Examination.

\* He means  
Julius Cæsar.

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The Time of *Cato's* Service in the Army being expired, he received at his departure, not only the Prayers and Praises, but the Tears and Embraces of the Souldiers, who spread their Garments at his Feet, and kissed his Hand as he passed; an Honour, which the *Romans* shewed to very few of their Generals.

*Cato* having left the Army, resolved, before he would return home, and apply himself to the management of State-Affairs, to travel over *Asia*, and there observe the Manners, the Customs, and the Strength of every Province. He was also willing to gratifie the Importunity of *Deiotarus*, King of *Galatia*, who having had great Familiarity and Friendship with his Father, did earnestly invite him thither.

*Cato* took care to order his Journeys in this manner: Early in the morning he sent out his Baker and his Cook toward the Place where he designed to lodge the next night: these went civilly and quietly into the Town, in which if there happened to be no Friend nor Acquaintance of *Cato* or his Family, they provided for him in an Inn, and gave no disturbance to any body; but if there were no Inn, they went to the Magistrates, and desired them to help them to Lodgings, and were always

ways satisfied with what was allotted to them. His Servants thus behaving themselves toward the Magistrates, without noise and threatening, were often not credited, or neglected by them; so that *Cato* did many times arrive, before any thing was provided for him. And indeed he himself was often despised, and made little account of; for sitting silent by himself on his Carriages, he was looked upon as a contemptible Man, and one of a mean Spirit: therefore he would sometimes call the Townsmen together, and say, *Ye ill-natured Men, lay aside this inhospitable Humour; you should by Courtesy endeavour to break the power of those Men, who desire but a pretence to take from you by force, what you give with such Reluctance.*

While he travelled in this manner, a pleasant Accident befel him in *Syria*. As he was going into *Antioch*, he saw a great multitude of People without the Gates, ranked in order on either side the way; here the young Men with long Cloaks, there the Children decently dress'd; others wore Crowns and white Garments, which were the Priests and Magistrates. *Cato*, presently imagining all this was to do him Honour, and for his Reception, began to be angry with his

his Servants that were sent before, for suffering it to be done; then making his Friends alight, he walked along with them on Foot. As soon as he came near the Gate, a reverend old Man, who seemed to be Master of these Ceremonies, with a Staff and a Crown in his Hand, comes up to *Cato*, and without saluting him, ask'd him, Where he had left *Demetrius*, and how soon he thought he would be there? This *Demetrius* was *Pompey's* Servant; and by all those who hoped for any Favour from *Pompey*, he was highly honoured, not for his own Desert, but for his great Power with his Master. Upon this *Cato's* Friends fell out into such a Laughter, that they could not restrain themselves, while they passed through the Crowd; he himself much out of Countenance, cryed, *O unhappy City!* and said no more: yet afterward he used to tell this Story, and laugh at it himself.

*Pompey* likewise after that made the People ashamed of their Ignorance and Folly; for *Cato*, in his Journey to *Ephesus*, went to pay his Respects to him, who was the elder Man, had gained much Honour, and was then General of a great Army. Yet *Pompey* would not receive him sitting; but as soon as he saw him,

rose up, and going to meet him, as the more honourable Person, gave him his Hand, and embraced him very kindly. He said many things also in commendation of *Cato's* Virtue, both in his presence, and when he was gone away. So that now all men began to respect *Cato*, and admired him for the same things for which they despised him before; having well considered the mildness of his Temper, and the greatness of his Spirit. Moreover, the Civility that *Pompey* himself shewed him, appeared to come from one that rather honoured, than loved him. And it was observed, he was very kind to *Cato* while he was present with him, but very glad when he was gone from him; for when other young men came to see him, he usually importuned and entreated them to continue with him: now he did not at all invite *Cato* to stay, but as if his own Power were lessened by the other's Presence, he very willingly dismiss'd him. Yet to *Cato* alone, of all those that went for *Rome*, he recommended his Children and his Wife, who was also her self allied to *Cato*.

After this, all the Cities through which he passed, strove and emulated each other in shewing him Respect and Honour. They invited him to great

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Entertainments; at which he desired his Friends to be present, and take care of him, lest he should make good what was said by *Curio*, who tho' he were his familiar Friend, yet disliking the austerity of his Temper, asked him one day, If when he left the Army, he designed to see *Asia*? And *Cato* answering, *Yes, by all means: You do well*, replied *Curio*, and *I hope you will return thence a little more softened, and less an Enemy to Pleasure*. Those were his words.

*Deiotarus* being now an old Man, had sent for *Cato*, with design to recommend his Children and Family to his Protection; and as soon as he came, brought him Presents of all sorts of things, which he begg'd and entreated him to accept. This so displeased *Cato*, that tho' he came but in the evening, he stay'd only that night, and went away early the next morning. After he was gone one days Journey, he found at *Pessinuns* a greater number of Presents provided for him there, and also Letters from *Deiotarus*, entreating him to receive them, or at least to permit his Friends to take them, who for his sake deserved something; and indeed *Cato's* own Estate was not very great. Yet he would not suffer it, tho' he saw some of them were wil-

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ling to receive such Gifts, and ready to complain of his Severity ; but he told them , That at this rate Corruption would never want pretence, and for his Friends, they should share with him in what-ever he could get justly and honestly : so he returned the Presents to *Deiotarus*.

When he took Ship for *Brundisium*, his Friends would have perswaded him to put his Brother's Ashes into another Vessel ; but he said , He would sooner part with his Life than leave them : and so he set Sayl. 'Tis said, he passed the Sea not without some danger, tho' others at the same time went over very safely.

After he was returned to *Rome*, he spent his Time for the most part either at home, in Conversation with *Athenodorus*, or at the *Forum*, in the service of his Friends.

When the Office of *Questor* fell to him, he would not take the Place, till he had perfectly studied the Laws concerning it, and diligently enquired of experienced Men the Duty and Authority belonging to it. Being thus instructed, as soon as he came into the Office, he made a great Reformation among the Clerks and under-Officers of the Treasury ;

sury ; for they being well versed in the Records and Methods of the Office, into which continually succeeded new *Questors*, who for their Ignorance and Unskilfulness were fit only to learn, and not able to manage the Business. These Officers therefore had taken to themselves all the Power, and were in effect the Treasurers, till *Cato*, applying himself roundly to the Work, had not only the Title and Honour of a *Questor*, but an insight and understanding of what-ever belonged to the Office. So that he used the Clerks and under-Officers like Servants, as they were, reprehending them that were corrupt, and instructing those that were ignorant ; yet being bold, impudent Fellows, they flattered the other *Questors* his Collegues, and by their means made great opposition against *Cato*. But he caught the chiefest of them dealing dishonestly in the division of an Estate, and turned him out of the Treasury. A second he accused of forging a Will ; who was defended by *Lucatius Catulus*, at that time *Censor*, a Man very considerable for his Office, but more for his Virtue, and was eminent above all the *Romans* of that Age, for his Wisdom and Integrity : he had also an intimate Acquaintance with *Cato*, and much

commended his way of Living. *Catulus*, perceiving he could not bring off his Client, if he stood to the issue of a fair Trial, fell to Prayers and Entreaties; but *Cato* would not suffer him to proceed therein: and when he continued still importunate; 'Tis a shame, (said he to *Catulus*) that you who are to judge of our Lives, should thus let your own be dishonoured, by defending the Faults of our Servants. At this expression *Catulus* looked as if he would have made some Answer; but he said nothing, and either through Anger or Shame went away silent, and out of Countenance. Nevertheless the Man was not cast; for the Voices that quitted him, were but one in number less than those that condemned him: and *Marcus Lollius*, one of *Cato's* Colleagues, was absent by reason of Sicknes; to him *Catulus* sent, and entreated him to come and assist his Client: so *Lollius* was brought into Court in a Chair, and gave his Voice also for acquitting the Man. Yet *Cato* never after made use of that Clerk, and never paid him his Salary, nor would he make any account of that Voice of *Lollius*. Having thus humbled the Clerks, and brought them to be at Command, he made use of the Books and Registers as he thought fit, and in a little while

while reduced the Treasury into as good order as any other Court; and all men said, *Cato* had made the Office of a *Questor* equal to the Dignity of a *Consul*. When he found many indebted to the State upon old accounts, and the State also in Debt to many private Persons, he took care that the Publick might neither do nor suffer wrong; for he severely and punctually exacted what was due to the Treasury, but as freely and speedily paid all those to whom it was indebted. This made the People much reverence *Cato*, when they saw those made to pay, who thought to have escaped for nothing, and others receiving all their due, who despaired of getting any thing; whereas usually those who brought false Bills, and pretended Orders of Senate, could through Favour get them accepted; *Cato* would never be so imposed upon, and a certain Order being questioned whether it had passed the Senate, he would not believe a great many Witnesses that attested it, nor did admit of it, till the *Consuls* came and affirmed it upon Oath.

There were at that time a great many whom *Sylla* had made use of as his executioners in the last Proscription, whom he had for that Service twelve thousand Drachma's a

These men every body hated as wicked VVretches, but nobody durst be revenged of them. Yet *Cato* called every one to account, who had thus gotten the publick Money; which he exacted of them, and at the same time sharply reproved them for their cruel and impious Actions. Having born this from *Cato*, they were presently accused of Murther; and being already prejudged as guilty, they were easily found so, and accordingly suffered. At this all People rejoiced, and hoped now to see the fear of Tyranny taken away, and *Sylla* himself punished.

*Cato's* Assiduity also, and indefatigable Diligence, won very much upon the People; for he always came first of any of his Colleagues to the Treasury, and went away the last. He never miss'd any Assembly of the People, or Sitting of the Senate; where he always took care strictly to observe those, who lightly, or out of Ambition, voted for remitting or giving away the Fines and Customs, that were owing to the State. And at length having freed the Exchequer from Informers, yet filled it with Treasure; he made it appear, the State might be rich, without oppressing the People.

At first he was uneasy and hateful to some of his Colleagues, but afterward much

much beloved by them; for on him they cast the *Odium*, when they could not gratifie their Friends with Pensions out of the Treasury, or corrupt Judgments in passing their Accounts; and when pressed by Suiters, they readily answered, 'Twas impossible to do any thing, unless *Cato* would consent.

The last day of his Office he was very honourably attended to his House by all the People; but by the way he was informed, that several Persons of great Power and Familiarity with *Marcellus*, were about him in the Treasury, and earnestly urging him to pass a certain Gift out of the publick Revenue, as if it had been a Debt. This *Marcellus* had been one of *Cato's* Friends from his Childhood, and was one of the best of his Colleagues in this Office; but when alone, was easily wrought upon by the importunity of Suiters, and of his own inclination very ready to do any body a Kindness. VVherefore *Cato* immediately turned back, and finding that *Marcellus* had yielded to pass the thing, he took the Book, and razed it out. VVhen he had done this, he brought *Marcellus* out of the Court, who went home with him; and for all this, neither then, nor ever after, complained of him, but always con-

continued his Friendship and Familiarity with him.

*Cato* after he had laid down his Office, yet did not leave the Care of the Treasury; for he had his Servants there continually writing out Accounts, and he himself kept always by him certain Books, that contained the Accounts of the Revenue, from *Sylla's* Time to his own, for which he gave five Talents.

He was always first at the Senate, and went out last: oftentimes while others walked about there idly, he would sit and read by himself, holding his Gown before his Book, and was never out of Town, when the Senate was to meet.

*Pompey* and his Party finding that *Cato* could never be, either persuaded or compelled to favour their unjust Designs, they contrived to keep him from so much frequenting the Senate, by engaging him in Business for his Friends, either to plead their Causes, or arbitrate their Differences. But he quickly discovering their Contrivance, to encounter it, fairly told all his Acquaintance, that he would never meddle in any private Business, when the Senate was assembled; since 'twas not for Honour or Riches, nor rashly or by chance, that he engaged himself in the Affairs of State, but he undertook

the Service of the Publick, as the proper Business of an honest Man: and therefore he thought himself obliged to be as diligent for the good of his Countrey, as a Bee for the preservation of her Hive. To this end he took care to make his Friends and Correspondents send him the Edicts, Decrees, Judgments, and most considerable Actions that passed in any of the Provinces.

*Clodius*, the seditious Orator, practising to stir up great Commotions, and traducing the Priests and Vestals to the People, (among whom, *Fabia Terentia*, Sister to *Cicero's* Wife, run great danger) *Cato* boldly opposed him, and made him appear so infamous, that he was forc'd to leave the Town; and when *Cicero* came to thank him for what he had done; *You must thank the Commonwealth*, said he; for whose sake alone it was that he did every thing. Thus he gained a great and wonderful Reputation: so that a certain Advocate in a Cause, where there was only one Witness against him, told the Judges, They ought not to rely upon a single Witness, though it were *Cato* himself. And it was grown proverbial among the People, if any very unlikely and incredible thing were asserted, to say, *They would not believe it, though Cato himself should*

*should affirm it.* One day a debauched Prodigal talking in the Senate about Frugality and Temperance, *Amnæus* standing up, cryed, *Who can endure this, Sir, to hear you, that feast like Crassus, and build like Lucullus, talk like Cato.* So likewise those who were wild and dissolute in their Manners, yet affected to seem grave and severe in their Discourses, were in derision called *Cato's*.

At first when his Friends would have perswaded him to stand to be *Tribune* of the People, he thought it not convenient, for that the Power of so great an Office, ought to be employed only as the strongest Medicines, when things are brought to the last necessity. But afterward in Vacation-time, as he was going, accompanied with his Books and Philosophers, to *Leucania*, where he had a pleasant Seat, by the way they met a great many Horses, Carriages, and Attendants, of whom they understood, that *Metellus Nepos* was going to *Rome*, to stand to be *Tribune* of the People. Hereupon *Cato* stopp'd, and after a little pause, gave Orders to return back immediately: At which the Company seeming to wonder; *Don't you know* (said he) *how dangerous of it self the Madness of Metellus is? but now he comes assisted with the*  
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*Counsel of Pompey, he will fall like Lightning on the State, and bring it to utter ruine; wherefore this is no time for Idleness and Diversion, but we must go and prevent this man in his Designs, or bravely die in defence of our Liberty.* Nevertheless, by the Perswasion of his Friends, he went first to his Countrey-house, where he stay'd but a very little time, and then returned to Town.

He arrived in the Evening, and went straight the next Morning to the *Forum*, where he began to solicit for the *Tribuneship*, in opposition to *Metellus*. The Power of this Office consists rather in controuling, than performing any Business; for tho' all the rest except any one *Tribune* should be agreed, yet his denial or intercession could put a stop to the whole Matter. *Cato* at first had not many that appeared for him; but as soon as his Design was known, all Persons of the best Quality, and of his own Acquaintance, took part with him: for they looked upon him, not as one that desired a Favour of them, but one that sought to do a great Kindness to his Countrey, and all honest men; who had many times refused the same Office, when he might have had it without trouble, but now sought it with danger, that he might de-



defend their Liberty, and their Government. It is reported, that so great a number flock'd about him, that he was like to be stifled amidst the Press, and could scarce get through the Crowd. He was declared *Tribune*, with several others, among whom was *Metellus*.

Now when *Cato* was chosen into this Office, having observed that the Election of *Consuls* was grown very mercenary, he sharply rebuked the People for this Corruption, and in the conclusion of his Speech protested, he would accuse whom ever he should find giving Money: yet he excepted *Silanus*, by reason of his Alliance, for he had married *Servilia*, *Cato's* Sister, so that he did not prosecute him; but *Lucius Murena*, who was chosen *Consul* with *Silanus*, he accused of Bribery. There was a Law, That the Party accused might set a Guard upon his Accuser, to watch him lest he should use any indirect means in preparing the Accusation. He that was set upon *Cato* by *Murena*, at first followed and observed him strictly, yet never found him dealing any way unfairly or unjustly, but always generously and candidly going on in the just and open Methods of Proceeding. So that he much admired *Cato's* great Spirit and noble Nature, and easily trusted to his

his Integrity; for meeting him abroad, or going to his House, he would ask him, If he designed to do any thing that day in order to the Accusation; and if *Cato* said, No, he went away, freely relying on his Word.

When the Cause was pleaded, *Cicero*, who was then *Consul*, and defended *Murena*, did so wittily expose *Cato*, and the Stoick Philosophers, and their Paradoxes, that he raised great Laughter in his Judges. Whereupon, *Cato* smiling, said to the Standers by; *Sirs, we have a very pleasant Consul. Murena* was acquitted, and afterward shewed himself no passionate, but a very prudent Man; for when he was *Consul*, he always took *Cato's* Advice in the most weighty Affairs, and in all the time of his Office, gave him much Honour and Respect. Of which, not only *Murena's* Prudence, but also *Cato's* obliging Humour, was the Cause; for tho' he were terrible and severe, as to Matters of Justice, in the Senate and at the Bar, yet he was very courteous and good-natured to all men in private.

Before *Cato* took upon him the Office of *Tribune*, he assisted *Cicero*, at that time *Consul*, in many things that concerned his Office; but most especially in prosecuting *Catiline's* Conspiracy, which he

he did with great Courage and Success.

This *Catiline* had plotted a dreadful and entire Subversion of the *Roman* State, contriving to raise great Seditions, and drive them into a Civil War; but being detected by *Cicero*, was forced to fly the City. Yet *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* conspired with several others, and blaming *Catiline*, as one that wanted Courage, and had too much Caution for such desperate Designs, they themselves resolved to set the whole Town on fire, and utterly to ruine the Empire of the World, by Tumults at home, and War from abroad. But the Design was discovered by *Cicero*, (as we have written in his Life) and the Matter brought before the Senate. *Silanus*, who spoke first, delivered his opinion, *That the Conspirators ought to suffer the last of Punishments*; and was therein followed by all that spoke after him, till it came to *Cæsar*, who was very eloquent; and looking upon all Changes and Commotions in the State, as Matter for him to work upon, desired rather to increase than extinguish them. Wherefore standing up, he made a very merciful and perswasive Speech: *That they ought not to suffer otherwise than according to Law, by which they could not be put*

to death; and moved, that they might be kept in Prison: thus was the House almost wholly turned by *Cæsar*. They were also afraid of the People, insomuch that *Silanus* retracted, and said, *He did not mean Death, but Imprisonment, for that was the utmost of what a Roman could suffer*. Upon this they were all inclined to the milder opinion; when *Cato* standing up, began to speak with great Passion and Eloquence; *blaming Silanius for his change of Opinion, and reflecting on Cæsar for his affectation of Popularity, who (he said) would ruine the Commonwealth by mild words, and plausible speeches: yet endeavoured to frighten the Senate, where he himself ought to fear: for he might take it kindly, if he escaped unpunished, or unsuspected, who did thus openly and boldly dare to protect the Enemies of the State, seemed to have no compassion for so great and glorious an Empire, brought so near its utter ruine; yet was full of pity for those men, who had better never been born, and whose death must deliver the Commonwealth from danger and destruction*. This only of all *Cato's* Speeches, 'tis said, was preserved; for *Cicero* the Consul had dispersed about the Senate-house several expert Writers, whom he had taught to make certain Figures, which did in little and short

strokes express a great many words: till that time they had not used those we call Short-hand Writers, who then first, as 'tis said, laid the foundation of that Art. Thus *Cato* carried it, and so turned the House again, that it was decreed, The Conspirators should be put to death.

Not to omit any the least strokes that may shew *Cato's* Temper, and contribute to draw the Image of his Mind; it is reported, that while *Cæsar* and he were disputing very earnestly in this Business, and the whole Senate regarding them two, a little Note was brought in to *Cæsar*: which *Cato* presently declared to be suspicious; and some of the Senators moved it might be read. Whereupon *Cæsar* delivered the Letter to *Cato*, who discovering it to be a Love-letter from his Sister *Servilia* to *Cæsar*, by whom she had been debauched, he threw it to him again, crying, *Take it you Sot*; and so went on with his Discourse. In short, it seems *Cato* had but ill Fortune in Women; for this Lady was ill-spoken of, for her Familiarity with *Cæsar*: and another *Servilia*, *Cato's* Sister also, was yet more infamous; for being married to *Lucullus*, one of the greatest Men in *Rome*, and having brought him a Son, she was afterward divorced for Incontinency. But what

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was worst of all, *Cato's* own Wife *Atilia* was not free from the same Fault; and after she had born him two Children, he was forc'd to put her away for her ill Conduct. After that he married *Martia*, the Daughter of *Philip*, a Woman of good Reputation: who yet has occasioned much Discourse; for this Passage in the Life of *Cato* looks like a Fable in a Play, and is very difficult to be cleared, or made out with any certainty.

It is thus related by *Thraseas*, who refers to the Authority of *Munatius*, *Cato's* Friend and constant Companion. Among many that loved and admired *Cato*, some were more remarkable and perspicuous than others: of these was *Quintus Hortensius*, a Man of signal Worth, and approved Virtue; who desired not only to live in Friendship and Familiarity with *Cato*, but also to be united to his Family, by some Alliance in Marriage. Therefore he set himself to perswade *Cato*, that his Daughter *Porcia*, who was already married to *Bibulus*, and had born him two Children, might nevertheless be given to him, as a fruitful Field, from which he might raise an Off-spring: For (said he) *tho' this in the opinion of men may seem strange, yet in Nature 'twould be honest and profitable for the Publick, that a*

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Woman in the prime of her youth should not lye useleſs, and looſe the Fruit of her Womb; nor on the other ſide would it be convenient, ſhe ſhould burthen and impoveriſh one Man, by bringing him too many Children. Alſo by this Communication of Families among worthy Men, Virtue would increaſe, and be diffuſed through their Poſterity; and the Commonwealth would be united and cemented by their Alliances. Yet if Bibulus would not part with his Wife altogether, he would reſtore her as ſoon as ſhe had brought him a Child, whereby he might be united to both their Families. Cato answered, That he loved Hortenſius very well, and did much approve of uniting their Houſes, but he thought it very ſtrange to ſpeak of marrying his Daughter, which was already given to another. Then Hortenſius, turning the Diſcourſe, did not ſtick to acknowledge, that 'twas Cato's own Wife which he deſired; for ſhe was young and fruitful, and he had already Children enough. Neither can it be thought, that Hortenſius did this, as imagining Cato did not love *Martia*; for, 'tis ſaid, ſhe was then with Child. Cato perceiving his earneſt deſire, did not deny his Requeſt, but ſaid, that *Philip*, the Father of *Martia*, ought alſo to be conſulted. *Philip* therefore being ſent for, came; and finding they were well

well agreed, gave his Daughter *Martia* to Hortenſius in the preſence of Cato, who himſelf alſo aſſiſted at the Marriage. Theſe things were done afterward; but ſince I was ſpeaking of Women, I thought fit to make mention thereof in this place.

*Lentulus* and the reſt of the Conſpirators were put to death; but *Cæſar*, by reaſon of what was ſaid againſt him in the Senate, betook himſelf to the People, and ſtirred up the moſt corrupt and diſſolute Members of the State to follow him. Cato, apprehenſive of what might enſue thereupon, perſwaded the Senate to win over the poor and diſorderly Rabble, by a diſtribution of Corn, the Charge of which amounted to twelve hundred and fifty Talents. This Liberality did in appearance diſſipate the preſent Danger.

But *Metellus*, coming into his Office of Tribune, began to hold tumultuous Aſſemblies, and had prepared a Decree, That *Pompey* the Great ſhould preſently be called into *Italy*, with all his Forces, to preſerve the City from the danger of *Catiline's* Conſpiracy. This was the fair pretence; but the true deſign was, to deliver all into the hands of *Pompey*, and give him an abſolute Power. Upon this the Senate was aſſembled; and Cato did

not fall sharply upon *Metellus*, as he used to do, but spoke many things full of great Reason and Moderation. At last he descended even to Entreaty, and extolled the House of *Metellus*, as having always taken part with the Nobility. At this *Metellus* grew the more insolent, and despising *Cato*, as if he yielded and were afraid, let fall many audacious Speeches, openly threatening to do whatever he pleased in spite of the Senate. Hereupon *Cato* changed his Countenance, his Voice and his Language; and after many sharp Expressions, boldly concluded, *That while he lived, Pompey should never come armed into the City.* The Senate thought them both extravagant, and not well in their Wits; for the Design of *Metellus* seemed to be the effect of his Rage, who out of excess of Malice, would bring all to Ruine and Confusion; and *Cato's* Virtue look'd like a kind of Excess, while he with so great heat and passion contended for what was good and just. Afterward, when the People were to give their Voices for the passing this Decree, *Metellus* before-hand possessed the *Forum* with armed Men, Strangers, Gladiators and Slaves, and all those that in hopes of Change followed *Pompey*, which was no small part of the People;

effides they had great Assistance from *Cæsar*, who was then *Prætor*. The best and chiefest Men of the City, were no less offended at these Proceedings than *Cato*; but they seemed rather likely to suffer with him, than able to assist him. In the mean time *Cato's* whole Family were in dreadful Fear and Apprehension for him; some of his Friends did neither eat nor sleep all the night, continuing in very great Perplexity: his Wife and Sisters also bewailed and lamented him; but he himself, void of all Fear, and full of Assurance, did comfort and encourage them by his own Discourse. After Supper he went to rest at his usual hour, and was the next day waked out of a profound Sleep, by *Minutius Thermus*, one of his Colleagues. So soon as he was up, they two went together into the *Forum*, accompanied by very few, but met by a great many, who bid them have a care of themselves. *Cato*, when he saw the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux* incompassed with armed Men, and the ascent to it guarded by Gladiators, at the top whereof sat *Metellus* and *Cæsar* together; turning to his Friends, Behold (said he) that courageous Fellow, who has raised so great Forces against one unarmed naked man: and so he went on with *Thermus*. Those

who kept the Passages, gave way to those two, but would not let any body else pass: yet *Cato*, taking *Munatius* by the Hand, with much difficulty pull'd him thorough along with him. Then going directly to *Metellus* and *Cæsar*, he sat himself down between them, to prevent their talking to one another; at which they were both amazed. And those of the honest Party, observing the Countenance, and admiring the Spirit and Boldness of *Cato*, went nearer, and cry'd out to him to have Courage, exhorting one another to stand together, and not betray their Liberty, nor the defender of it. Then the Clerk took out the Bill, but *Cato* forbade him to read it; whereupon *Metellus* took it, and would have read it himself, but *Cato* snatch'd away the Book. Yet *Metellus* having the Decree by heart, began to recite it without-book; but *Thermus* clapp'd his Hand to his Mouth, and stopp'd his Speech. *Metellus* seeing them fully bent to withstand him, and the People inclining to their side, sent to his House for armed Men; who rushing in with great noise and terrour, they all dispers'd and run away, except *Cato*, who alone stood still, while the other Party threw Sticks and Stones at him from below. *Murena*, whom he had formerly

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accused, could not brook this, but came to him, and holding his Gown before him, cryed out to them to leave off throwing: in fine, perswading and pulling him along, he forc'd him into the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*. *Metellus* now seeing the Place clear, and all the adverse Party fled out of the *Forum*, thought he might easily carry his Point: so he commanded the Souldiers to retire, and going orderly to work, he began to proceed in passing the Decree; but the other side, having recollected themselves, returned very boldly, and with great shouting, insomuch that *Metellus* his Adherents were utterly dismayed, and fled every one out of the Place. They being thus dispersed, *Cato* came in again, and confirmed the Courage, and commended the Resolution of the People; so that now the Multitude were, by all means, for deposing *Metellus* from his Office. The Senate also being presently assembled, gave Orders to stand by *Cato*, and to oppose this Decree, which would certainly raise great Disturbance, and perhaps Civil War in the Commonwealth. But *Metellus* continued still very bold and resolute; and seeing his Party stood greatly in fear of *Cato*, whom they look'd upon as invincible, he flung out of the

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Senate, and going into the *Forum*, he assembled the People; to whom he made a bitter and invidious Speech against *Cato*, crying out, *He was forc'd to fly from his Tyranny, and this Conspiracy against Pompey; that the City would soon repent their having dishonoured so great a Man.*

*Cato* was highly magnified, for having thus delivered the State, from the dangerous *Tribunship* of *Metellus*, and thereby in some measure diminished the Power of *Pompey*; but he was more commended, for that the Senate intending to disgrace *Metellus*, and depose him from his Office, *Cato* did altogether oppose, and at length divert that Design: for which the Common People admired his Moderation and Humanity, in not insulting on an Enemy whom he had overthrown; but wise Men acknowledged his Prudence and Policy, in not exasperating *Pompey*.

After this, *Lucullus* returned from the War in *Asia*; the finishing of which, and thereby the Glory of the whole, would in all appearance fall to *Pompey*. *Lucullus* also was like to loose his Triumph; for *Caius Memmius* traduced him to the People, and threatned to accuse him: which he did rather out of Love to *Pompey*, than for any particular Enmity to *Lucullus*. But *Cato*, being related to *Lucullus*, who  
had

had married his Sister *Servilia*, and also thinking this Design very unjust, opposed *Memmius*; and thereby underwent many Slanders and false Accusations, inasmuch that they would have turned him out of his Office, pretending that he used his Power tyrannically. Yet at length *Cato* so far prevailed against *Memmius*, that he was forc'd to let fall the Accusations, and to desist from his Design.

*Lucullus*, having thus obtained his Triumph, did yet more carefully cultivate *Cato's* Friendship, which he look'd upon as a great guard and defence against *Pompey's* Power.

*Pompey* the Great also returning from the Army, and confiding in the Glory of his Actions, and the Good-will of the People, thought he should be denied nothing. Therefore he sent to the Senate, to put off the Assembly for the choice of *Consuls*, till he could be present, to assist *Piso*, who stood for that Office. To this most of the Senate presently yielded; only *Cato*, not thinking that this delay would be of any great importance, but desiring to lessen and cut off the Hopes and Designs of *Pompey*, withstood his Request, and so over-ruled the Senate, that 'twas carried against him.

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This did not a little trouble *Pompey*, who found he should very often fail in his Designs, unless he could bring over *Cato* to his Interest. Therefore he sent for his Friend *Munatius*; and *Cato* having two Nieces that were marriageable, he offered to marry the eldest himself, and take the youngest for his Son. Some say they were not his Nieces, but his Daughters, whom *Pompey* would have thus married. *Munatius* proposed the Matter to *Cato*, in presence of his Wife and Sisters: the Women very much desired the Alliance of so great and worthy a Person; but *Cato*, without delay or balancing, presently answered; *Go, Munatius, go tell Pompey, that Cato is not to be wrought upon by Women; tho' otherwise I very much value his Kindness, and while he deals uprightly in the State, he shall find in me a Friendship more firm than any Alliance, but I will not give Hostages to Pompey's Glory, against my Country's safety.* This Answer was very grating to the Women, and to all his Friends it seemed somewhat harsh and haughty. Afterwards, when *Pompey*, endeavouring to get the *Consulship* for one of his Friends, did give Money to the People for their Voices; and the Bribery was notorious, for the Money was told out in *Pompey's* own Gardens. *Cato* then said

said to the Women, They must necessarily have been concerned in these Faults of *Pompey*, if they had been allied to his Family; and they acknowledged, that he did best in refusing it.

But, if we may judge by the Event, *Cato* seems much to blame for rejecting that Alliance, which thereby fell to *Cæsar*. And then that Match was made, which uniting his and *Pompey's* Power, had well-nigh ruined the *Roman* Empire, and did at last utterly destroy the Commonwealth. Nothing of which perhaps had come to pass, but that *Cato* was too apprehensive of *Pompey's* least Faults, and did not consider, how he forced him into a condition of committing much greater; however these things were yet to come.

Now *Lucullus* and *Pompey* had a great Dispute, concerning what had been established in *Pontus*, each endeavouring that his own Ordinances might stand. *Cato* took part with *Lucullus*, who was apparently injured; and *Pompey*, finding himself the weaker in the Senate, took to the People. To gain them, he proposed a Law, for dividing the Lands among the Souldiers: *Cato* opposing him in this also, made the Law be rejected. Hereupon *Pompey* joyned himself with

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*Clodius*, at that time the most violent of all the popular Men; and was likewise united to *Cæsar* upon this occasion, of which *Cato* himself was the Cause.

For *Cæsar*, returning from his Government in *Spain*, at the same time sued to be chosen *Consul*, and yet desired not to loose his Triumph. Now the Law requiring, That those who stood for any Office, should be present; and yet that whoever expected a Triumph, should continue without the Walls; *Cæsar* requested the Senate, that his Friends might be permitted to canvass for him in his absence. Many of the Senators were willing to consent to it; but *Cato* opposed it, and perceiving them inclined to favour *Cæsar*, spent the whole day in speaking, and so prevented the Senate, that they could come to no conclusion. *Cæsar* therefore resolving to let fall his Pretensions to the Triumph, came into the Town, and immediately made a Friendship with *Pompey*, and stood for the *Consulship*: so soon as he was declared *Consul* elect, he married his Daughter *Julia* to *Pompey*. Having thus combined themselves together against the Commonwealth, the one proposed the *Agrarian* Laws, for dividing the Lands among the poor People; and the other

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was present to second the Proposal. Against them, *Lucullus*, *Cicero*, and their Friends, joyned with *Bibulus* the other *Consul*, and did all they could to hinder the passing those Laws. Among these none was more remarkable than *Cato*, who lock'd upon the Friendship and Alliance of *Pompey* and *Cæsar* as very dangerous; and declared, he did not so much dislike the Advantage, the People should get by this division of the Lands, as he fear'd the Reward these men would gain, by thus cheating the People. And in this the Senate was of his opinion; as likewise many honest men without, who were very much offended at *Cæsar's* ill Conduct, that he now bearing the Authority of *Consul*, should thus basely and dishonourably flatter the People, practising to win them by the same means, that were wont to be used only by the most rash and heady *Tribunes*. *Cæsar* therefore and his Party, fearing they should not carry it by fair dealing, fell to open force. First a Basket of Dung was thrown upon *Bibulus*, as he was going to the *Forum*; then they set upon his *Lictors*, and broke their Rods; at length several Darts were thrown, and many men wounded: so that all that were against those Laws, fled out of the *Forum*, the

the rest making what haste they could; but *Cato* last of all walking out very slowly, often turned back and cursed those Citizens.

Now the other Party did not only carry this Point of dividing the Lands, but also ordained, that all the Senate should swear to confirm this Law, and to defend it against whoever should attempt to alter it, inflicting great Penalties on those that should refuse the Oath. All the Senators, seeing the necessity they were in, took the Oath, remembring the Example of old *Metellus*, who refusing to swear upon the like occasion, was forc'd to fly out of *Italy*. As for *Cato*, his Wife and Children with Tears besought him; his Friends and Familiars perswaded and entreated him to yield, and take the Oath: but he that principally prevailed with him, was *Cicero* the Orator, who urged and remonstrated, *How unreasonable it was, that a private man alone should oppose what the Publick had decreed; that the thing being already past remedy, it would look like folly and madness, to run himself into danger, where 'tis impossible to do his Countrey any good: besides, it would be the greatest of all Evils, to abandon the Commonwealth, for whose sake he did every thing, and to let it fall into the hands of those,*

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who designed nothing but its ruine. This would look as if he were glad of an opportunity, to retire from the trouble of defending his Countrey; for (said he) tho' *Cato* have no need of Rome, yet Rome has need of *Cato*, and so likewise have all his Friends. Of whom *Cicero* profess'd himself the chief; being at that time aimed at by *Clodius*, who openly threatned to fall upon him, as soon as ever he should get to be Tribune. Thus *Cato* (they say) moved by the Entreaties of his Family, and the Persuasions of his Friends, went unwillingly to take the Oath, which he did the last of all, except only *Favonius*, one of his intimate Acquaintance.

*Cæsar*, exalted with this Success, proposed another Law, for dividing almost all the Countrey of *Campania* among the poor and needy Citizens. No body durst speak against it but *Cato*, whom therefore *Cæsar* pull'd from the *Rostra*, and dragg'd to Prison: yet *Cato* did not at all remit his freedom of Speech, but as he went along, continued to speak against the Law, and advis'd the People to put a stop to these Proceedings. The Senate and the best of the Citizens followed him with sad and dejected Looks, showing their Grief and Indignation by their Silence: so that *Cæsar* could not be ignorant,

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rant, how much they were offended; but being one of a fierce contentious Spirit, he still persisted, expecting *Cato* should either supplicate him, or appeal to the People. Afterwards, when he saw that *Cato* would do neither, *Cæsar* himself, ashamed of what he had done, privately sent one of the *Tribunes* to take him out of Prison.

Thus having won the Multitude by these Laws and Gratifications, they decreed, That *Cæsar* should have the Government of *Illyricum*, and all *Gaule*, with an Army of four Legions, for the space of five years, tho' *Cato* still cry'd out, they were placing a Tyrant in their Citadel. *Publius Clodius*, (who illegally of a *Patrician* became a *Plebeian*) was declared *Tribune* of the People, and he had promised to do all things according to their pleasure, on condition he might banish *Cicero*. For *Consuls*, they set up *Calpurnius Piso*, the Father of *Cæsar's* Wife; and *Aulus Gabinus*, a Man wholly at *Pompey's* Devotion, as they write who best knew his Life and Manners.

Yet when they had thus firmly established all things, having mastered one part of the City by Favour, and the other by Fear, they themselves were still afraid of *Cato*; for they well considered, with  
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how much pains and difficulty they had oppressed him, and what disgrace they suffered, when they did violence to him. This made *Clodius* despair of driving *Cicero* out of *Italy*, while *Cato* stay'd at home: therefore, having first laid his Design, as soon as he came into his Office, he sent for *Cato*, and told him, That he look'd upon him as the most uncorrupt Man of all the Romans, and was ready by deeds to make good the truth of his words; for whereas (said he) many have sought to command the Expedition to *Cyprus*, and have much solicited to be sent thither, I think you only deserve it, and therefore to you I will freely give that Command. *Cato* presently cry'd out, This was a design upon him, and no Favour, but an Injury. Then *Clodius* proudly and fiercely answered, If you will not take it as a Kindness, yet you shall go, tho' never so unwillingly: and immediately going into the Assembly of the People, he made them pass a Decree, that *Cato* should be sent to *Cyprus*. But they ordered him neither Ships, nor Souldiers, nor any Officers, only two Secretaries; one of which was a very Rascal, and the other a Retainer to *Clodius*. Besides, as if the gaining of *Cyprus*, and conquering *Ptolemy*, were not Work sufficient, he was ordered also to restore the Fugitives

of *Byzantium* ; for *Clodius* was resolved to keep him far enough off, whilst himself continued *Tribune*.

*Cato*, being in this necessity of going away, advised *Cicero*, (who was next to be set upon) to make no Resistance, lest he should throw the State into Civil War and Confusion, but to give way to the Times ; and thus he might become once more the Preserver of his Countrey.

*Cato* sent *Canidius*, one of his Friends, to *Cyprus*, to perswade *Ptolemy* to yield, without being forc'd ; which if he did, he should want neither Riches nor Honour, for the *Romans* would give him the Priesthood of *Venus* in the Isle of *Phos* : he himself stay'd at *Rhodes*, making some Preparations, and expecting an Answer from *Cyprus*. In the mean time *Ptolemy*, King of *Egypt*, who had left *Alexandria*, upon some quarrel between him and his Subjects, was sailing for *Rome*, in hopes that *Pompey* and *Cæsar* would by their Power restore him again to his Kingdom : in his way he desired to see *Cato*, to whom he sent, supposing he would come to him. *Cato* was about his necessary Affairs, when the Messenger came ; to whom he made Answer, That *Ptolemy* might come to him, if he thought fit. When he came, *Cato*

neither went forward to meet him, nor so much as rose up to him, but saluting him as an ordinary Person, bid him sit down. This at first amazed *Ptolemy*, who admired to see such Greatness and stately Carriage, in a Man of common Birth and mean Appearance ; but afterwards, when he began to talk about his Affairs, *Ptolemy* no less wonder'd at the Wisdom and Freedom of his Discourse : for *Cato* blamed his Design, and shew'd him the Honour and Happiness he had fallen from, the Disgrace and Troubles he would run himself into ; told him, what great Gifts and Presents he must bestow on the leading Men at *Rome*, whom all *Egypt* turn'd into Silver would scarcely satisfy : he therefore advised him to return home, and be reconciled to his Subjects, offering to go along with him, and assist him in composing the Differences. Upon this Discourse *Ptolemy* came to himself, as one recovered from a Fit of Madness, and acknowledging the Wisdom and Sincerity of *Cato*, was resolved to follow his Advice ; but he was again over-perswaded by his Friends to the contrary, and so according to his first Design, went to *Rome*. When he came there, and was forced to wait at the Gate of one of the Magistrates, he began to repent of

his folly, in having rejected the Counsel of so good a Man, or rather the Oracle of a God.

In the mean time the other *Ptolemy*, that was in *Cyprus*, (very luckily for *Cato*) poyson'd himself. It was reported he had left great Riches; therefore *Cato* designing to go first to *Byzantium*, sent his Nephew *Brutus* to *Cyprus*, for he would not wholly trust *Canidius*. Then having reconciled the Fugitives and the People of *Byzantium*, he left the City in peace and quietness; and thence sail'd to *Cyprus*, where he found a Royal Treasure in Plate, Tables, precious Stones and purple, all which was to be turn'd into ready Money. *Cato* resolv'd to examine all very exactly, and to raise the price of every thing to the utmost; to which end he was alway present at selling the things, and took the Accounts himself. Nor would he trust to the usual Customs of the Market, but suspected all the Officers, Cryers, Prizers, and even his own Friends: therefore he himself talk'd with the Buyers, and urged them to bid up so that most of the things were sold at great Rates.

This Mistrustfulness of *Cato's* offended most of his Friends; but especially *Munatius*, the most intimate of them all, be-

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came almost irreconcilable. And this afforded *Cæsar* a plentiful Subject for Rail-  
ing, in his Book against *Cato*; yet *Munatius* himself relates, that this falling out was not so much occasioned by *Cato's* mistrust, as by his neglect of him, and by his own jealousy of *Canidius*: for *Munatius* writ a Book concerning *Cato*, which is chiefly follow'd by *Thraseas*. Now *Munatius* says, That coming last to *Cyprus*, and having a very ill Lodging provided for him, he thereupon went to *Cato's* House, but was not admitted, because he was in private with *Canidius*; of which he afterward very mildly complain'd to *Cato*, but received a very harsh Answer: for he told him, *That too much Love (according to Theophrastus) often causes Hatred; and you (said he) because you bear me much Love, think you receive too little Honour, and presently grow angry: but as to Canidius, I will employ him, both for his Industry and his Fidelity, he has been always with me, and I have always found him free from corruption.* These things were said in private between them two: but *Cato* afterward told *Canidius* what had passed; which *Munatius* understanding, would no more go to sup with him, and when he was called to Council, refused to come. Then *Cato* threatned to seize

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his Goods, as was the custom to deal with those who were disobedient; but *Munatius*, not regarding his Threats, returned to *Rome*, and continued a long time thus discontented. Afterward when *Cato* was come back also, *Martia*, who as yet lived with him, contrived to have them both invited to sup together at the House of one *Barca*: *Cato* came in last of all, when the rest were at Table, and ask'd, Where he should be? *Barca* answered him, Where he pleased: then looking about, he said, He would be near *Munatius*, and presently went, and placed himself next to him; yet he shewed him no other mark of Kindness, all the time they were at Table together. But another time, at the Entreaty of *Martia*, *Cato* wrote to *Munatius*, That he desired to speak with him. *Munatius* went to his House one Morning, and was entertained by *Martia*, till all the Company was gone; then *Cato* came and embraced him very kindly, and they were perfectly reconciled. I have the more fully related this Passage, for that I think the Manners and Tempers of Men, are more clearly discovered by things of this nature, than by great and illustrious Actions.

*Cato* got together no less than seven thousand Talents of Silver; but apprehensive of what might happen in so long a Voyage by Sea, he provided a great many Coffers that held two Talents, and five hundred Drachma's a piece: to each of these he fastned a long Rope, and to the other end of the Rope a piece of Cork, so that if the Ship should miscarry, it might be discovered where-about the Chests lay under Water: thus all the Money, except a very little, was safely transported. Now *Cato* had made two Books, in which all his Accounts were carefully written: but neither of them was preserved; for his Freed-man *Phylargyrus*, who had the charge of one of them, setting Sayl from *Cenchrea*, was drowned, together with the Ship, and all her Freight. The other Book *Cato* himself kept till he came to *Corcyra*, where he set up his Tents in the Market-place; and the Mariners being very cold in the Night, made a great many Fires, some of which took hold of the Tents, so that they were burnt, and the Book lost. Though *Cato* had brought with him several of *Ptolemy's* Servants, who could testify his Integrity, and stop the mouths of his Enemies, yet this loss troubled him; for he designed them not only for a proof  
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of his own Fidelity, but a pattern of Exactness to others.

News being brought to *Rome*, that he was coming up the River, all the Magistrates, the Priests, and the whole Senate, with great part of the People, went out to meet him ; both the Banks of the *Tiber* were covered with People : so that his Entrance was in Solemnity and Honour, not inferiour to a Triumph. But 'twas thought somewhat strange, and look'd like Pride, that when the *Consuls* and *Prætors* appeared, he did not come toward them, nor stay to salute them, but rowed up the Stream in a Royal Galley of six Banks of Oars, and stopt not till he came to the place of Landing. However, when the Money was carried through the Streets, the People much wondred at the vast quantity of it, and the Senate being assembled, did in honourable terms decree him an extraordinary *Prætorship*, and also the privilege of being at the publick Spectacles in a Robe fac'd with purple. *Cato* refused all these Honours, but declaring what Diligence and Fidelity he had found in *Nicias*, the Steward of *Ptolemy*, he requested the Senate to give him his Freedom.

*Philip*, the Father of *Martia*, was that year *Consul*, but the Authority and Power of

of the Office rested wholly in *Cato* ; for the other *Consul* no less respected him for his Virtue, than *Philip* did for his Alliance.

*Cicero* being returned from his Banishment, ( into which he was driven by *Clodius* ) and having again obtained great Credit among the People, he went one day, in the absence of *Clodius*, and by force took away the Records of his *Tribuneship*, which *Clodius* had laid up in the Capitol. Hereupon the Senate was assembled, and *Clodius* complained of *Cicero* ; who answered, That *Clodius* was never legally Tribune, and therefore whatever he had done, was void and of no Authority. But *Cato* interrupted him, and standing up, said, That indeed he did not at all approve of *Clodius* his Proceedings, but if they questioned the Validity of what had been done in his Tribuneship, they might also question what himself had done at Cyprus : for the Expedition was unlawful, if he that sent him had no lawful Authority ; but, he thought, *Clodius* was legally made Tribune, who, by permission of the Law, was from a Patrician adopted into a Plebeian Family ; and if he had done ill in his Office, he ought to be called to account for it ; but the Authority of the Magistracy ought not to suffer for the Faults of the Magistrate. *Cicero* took this

this very ill, and for a long time discontinued his Friendship with *Cato*; but they were afterward reconciled upon this occasion.

*Pompey* and *Crassus*, by Agreement with *Cæsar*, who came over the *Alpes*, on purpose had laid a Design, That they two should stand to be chosen *Consuls* a second time; and when they should be in their Office, they would continue to *Cæsar* his Government for five years more, and take to themselves the greatest Provinces, with Armies, and Money to maintain them. This seemed a plain Conspiracy, to destroy the Commonwealth, and divide the Empire. Several honest Men had intended to stand to be *Consuls* that year; but upon the appearance of these great Men, they all desisted, except only *Lucius Domitius*, who had married *Porcia*, the Sister of *Cato*, and was by him perswaded to stand it out, and not abandon such an Undertaking; which (he said) was not only to gain the Consulship, but to preserve the Liberty of Rome. In the mean time, 'twas usually discoursed among the more prudent part of the Citizens, That they ought not to suffer the Power of *Pompey* and *Crassus* to be united, which would then grow beyond all Bounds, and become dangerous

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to the State; that therefore one of them must be denied. For these Reasons they took part with *Domitius*, whom they exhorted and encouraged to go on, assuring him, that many who feared openly to appear for him, would privately assist him. *Pompey's* Party, fearing this, laid wait for *Domitius*, and set upon him as he was going before day-light, with Torches, into the Field. First he that bore the Light next before *Domitius*, was knock'd down; then several others being wounded, all the rest fled, except *Cato* and *Domitius*; for *Cato* held him, (tho' himself were wounded in the Arm) and crying out, *conjured the others to stay, and while they had breath, not to forsake the defence of their Liberty, against those Tyrants, who plainly shewed with what Moderation they were like to use the Power, which they endeavour'd to gain by such Violence.* But at length *Domitius* also no longer willing to stand the Danger, fled to his own House; and so *Pompey* and *Crassus* were declared *Consuls*.

Nevertheless *Cato* would not give over, but resolv'd to stand himself to be *Prætor* that year, which he thought would be some help to him, in his design of opposing them; that he might not act as a private Man, when he was to contend with



with publick Magistrates. *Pompey* and *Crassus* apprehended this ; and fearing that the Office of *Prætor* in the Person of *Cato*, might be equal in Authority to that of *Consul*, they assembled the Senate unexpectedly, without giving any notice to a great many of the Senators, and made an Order, That those who were chosen *Prætors*, should immediately enter upon their Office, without attending the usual time, in which, according to Law, they might be accused, if they had corrupted the People with Gifts. When by this Order they were secure from being called to account, they set up their own Friends and Dependants to stand for the *Prætorship*, giving Money, and soliciting the People for their Voices. Yet the Virtue and Reputation of *Cato* was like to triumph over all these Stratagems ; for many of the People abhorred, that *Cato* should be sold, who ought rather to be hired to take upon him the Office : so he carried it by the Voices of the first Tribes. Hereupon *Pompey* immediately frames a Lye, crying out, It thunder'd, and straight broke up the Assembly ; for the *Romans* religiously observed those things, and never concluded any Matter, after it had thunder'd. Against the next time, they had distributed larger Bribes, and did

did also keep the best Men out of the Field : by these foul means they procured *Vatinius* to be chosen *Prætor* instead of *Cato*. 'Tis said, that those who had thus corruptly and dishonestly given their Voices, made what haste they could out of the Field ; but the others staying together, and much grieving at what was done, one of the *Tribunes* continued the Assembly, and *Cato* standing up, did, as it were by Inspiration, foretel all the Miseries that afterward befel the State : then he exhorted them to beware of *Pompey* and *Crassus*, who were guilty of such things, and had laid such Designs, that they might well fear to have *Cato* their *Prætor*. When he had ended this Speech, he was followed to his House by a greater number of People than all the *Prætors* together.

*Caius Trebonius* proposed the Law for allotting Provinces to the *Consuls*, whereby one was to have *Spain* and *Lybia*, the other *Egypt* and *Syria*, with full power of making War and Peace, both by Sea and Land, as they should think fit. When this was proposed, all men despaired of putting any stop to it, and therefore said nothing against it. But *Cato*, before they began Voting, went up into the *Rostra*, and desired to be heard ; they would

would scarce allow him two hours to speak. Having spent that time, in declaring many things that were passed, and foretelling many that were to come, they would not suffer him to speak any longer; but as he was going on, a Serjeant came and pull'd him down: yet when he was down, he still continued his Discourse, and many there were who hearkened to him, and were much concern'd for him. Then the Serjeant took him, and forc'd him out of the *Forum*; but as soon as he got loose, he returned again, crying out to the People, to stand by him. *Cato* having done thus several times, *Trebonius* grew very angry, and commanded him to be carried to Prison; but the Multitude followed him, and hearkened to him, who made a Speech to them, as he went along. Whereupon *Trebonius* was afraid, and ordered him to be released: thus was all that day spent, and the Business driven off by *Cato*. But afterward, many of the Citizens being over-aw'd by Fears and Threats, and others won by Gifts and Favours, *Aquilius*, one of the *Tribunes*, they shut into the Senate-house; *Cato*, who cry'd, It thundered, they drove out of the *Forum*; many were wounded, and some slain: at length by open force they passed the Law. At this

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many were so incensed, that they got together, and resolved to throw down the Statues of *Pompey*; but *Cato* went, and diverted them from that Design.

Again, another Law was proposed, concerning the Provinces and Legions for *Cæsar*. Upon this occasion *Cato* did not apply himself to the People, but to *Pompey*, and told him, *He did not consider now, that he took Cæsar upon his own Shoulders, who would shortly grow too weighty for him; and at length, not able to lay down the burthen, nor yet to bear it any longer, he would fall with it upon the Commonwealth: and then he would remember Cato's Advice, which was no less advantageous to him, than just and honest in it self.* Thus was *Pompey* often warned, but still went on, never mistrusting *Cæsar's* Change, and always confiding in his own Power and good Fortune.

*Cato* was made *Prætor* the following year; but, it seems, he did not more honour and credit the Office by his signal Integrity, than he did disgrace and diminish it by his strange Behaviour: for he would often come to the Court without his Shoes, and sit upon the Bench without his Gown, and in this Habit give Judgement in the greatest Causes, and upon Persons of the best Quality. 'Tis

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said also, he would dispatch Business after Dinner, when he had drunk Wine; but this was wrongfully reported of him.

The People were at that time extremely corrupted by the Gifts of those who sought Offices, and many made a constant Trade of selling their Voices. *Cato* was resolved utterly to root this Corruption out of the Commonwealth; therefore he persuaded the Senate to make an Order, That those who were chosen into any Office, tho' no body did accuse them, should be obliged to come into the Court, and give account upon Oath how they had dealt in their Election. This very much displeased those who stood for the Offices, but much more those who took the Bribes; insomuch that one Morning, as *Cato* was going to the Place where he kept Court, a great multitude of People flocked together, and with a mighty uproar fell to reviling him, and threw Stones at him: those that were about the Tribunal, presently fled. *Cato* himself being forc'd thence, and jostled about in the Throng, very narrowly escaped the Stones that were thrown at him, and with much difficulty got into the *Rostra*; where standing up with a bold and undaunted Countenance, he appear'd the Tumult, and silenced the Clamour: then  
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he began to speak, and was heard with great attention, so that he perfectly quelled the Sedition. Afterward, the Senate commending him for this; *But I don't commend you* (said he) *for abandoning your Prætor in Danger, and bringing him no Assistance.*

In the mean time, the Candidates were in great perplexity; for every one dreaded to give Money himself, and yet feared lest his Competitors should. At length they all agreed to lay down an hundred and twenty five thousand Drachma's apiece, and then go on to canvass fairly and honestly, on condition, that if any one was found to make use of Bribery, he should forfeit the Money. Being thus agreed, they chose *Cato* to keep the Stakes, and arbitrate the Matter: to him therefore they brought the Sum concluded on, and before him subscribed the Agreement; he refused to take the Money, but would have others bound for them. Upon the day of Election, *Cato* stood by the *Tribune* that took the Votes, and very watchfully observing all that passed, he discover'd one who had broken the Agreement, and immediately order'd him to pay his Money to the rest; but they much admiring the Justice of *Cato*, remitted the Penalty, as thinking the

Dishonour a sufficient Punishment. This rais'd *Cato* as much Envy, as it gain'd him Reputation, and many were offended at him, as if he did hereby take upon himself the whole Authority of the Senate, Court of Judicature, and other Magistracies; for there is no Virtue, the Honour and Credit whereof procures a man more Envy, than that of Justice, and that because it acquires a man great Power and Authority among the common People: for they only revere the Valiant, and admire the Wise, while they truly love just men, and in these have entire Trust and Confidence; but of the former, they fear the one, and always mistrust the other: besides they think men rather beholding to their Complexion, than to any goodness of their Will, for those Virtues; for they look upon Valour as a certain natural firmity of the Mind, and Wisdom as an acute delicacy of Constitution; whereas a man has it in his power to be Just, if he have but the will to be so: and therefore also Injustice is thought the most dishonourable, because 'tis least excusable.

*Cato* upon this account was oppos'd by all the great Men, who thought themselves reprov'd by his Virtue. *Pompey* especially look'd upon the increase of *Cato's*

to's Credit, as the ruine of his own Power, and therefore continually set up men to rail against him: among these was the seditious *Clodius*, now again united to *Pompey*; he declared openly, that *Cato* had convey'd away a great deal of the Treasure that was found in *Cyprus*; and that he hated *Pompey*, only because he refused to marry his Daughter. *Cato* answered, *That although they had allow'd him neither Horse nor Men, he had brought more Treasure from Cyprus alone, than Pompey had, after so many Wars and Triumphs, from the ransack'd World: that he never sought the Alliance of Pompey; not that he thought him unworthy of being related to him, but because he differ'd so much from him, in things that concerned the Commonwealth; for (said he) I laid down the Province that was given me, when I went out of my Prætorship: on the contrary, Pompey retains many Provinces to himself, and many he bestows on others; lately he sent Cæsar six thousand Men into Gaul, which were never ask'd of the People, nor ever given by their consent. Thus unlimited Powers, Men, Horse and Arms, are become the mutual Gifts of private Men to one another; and Pompey still keeps the Titles of Commander and General, but gives the Armies and Provinces to others to govern, while he*

himself presides in the City, and stays at home to model Seditions, and contrive Tumults in Elections : whence 'tis plain, he aims at raising himself a Monarchy out of our Confusion. Thus did Cato take occasion sharply to reflect on Pompey.

Marcus Favonius was an intimate Friend, and zealous Imitator of Cato, such as heretofore Apollodorus Phalereus is said to have been of Socrates, with whose Discourses he was wont to be so transported, that he would seem perfectly mad, and as it were possess'd. This Favonius stood to be chosen *Ædile*, and was like to loose it ; but Cato, who was there to assist him, observed that all the Votes were written in one Hand, and discovering the Cheat, appeal'd to the *Tribunes*, who voided the Election. Favonius was afterward chosen *Ædile*, and Cato, who assisted him in all things that belong'd to his Office, did also take care of the Plays that were exhibited in the Theater : to the Actors Cato gave Crowns, not of Gold, but of wild Olive, such as us'd to be given at the *Olympick Games*. Instead of the magnificent Gifts, that were wont to be bestow'd on the People, he gave to the *Græcians* Leeks, Lettices, Radishes and Pears ; and to the *Romans*, earthen Pots of Wine, Pork, Figs, Cowcumbers, and little

little Fagots of Wood. Some laugh'd at Cato for this ; and others were well pleas'd with the Humour, which they look'd on as a relaxation of his usual Austerity. In fine, Favonius himself mingled with the Crowd, and sitting among the Spectators, applauded Cato, bid him bestow Honours and Rewards on those who did well, and assur'd the People, that he had given all the Power into Cato's Hands. At the same time Curio, the Colleague of Favonius, gave very magnificent Plays in another Theater ; but the People left his, and went to those of Favonius, which they very much applauded, seeing him act the Private Man, and Cato the Master of the Shows : who did these things, in derision of the great Expences that others bestowed, and to teach them, that in Sports men ought to seek Diversion only, and decent Cheerfulness, not great Preparations, and costly Magnificence ; nor should they imploy too much Care about things of little Concern.

After this Scipio, Hypseus, and Milo, stood to be *Consuls*, and that not only with the usual and common Disorders of Bribery and Corruption, but with Arms and Slaughter were running desperately into a Civil War. Whereupon 'twas

propos'd, That *Pompey* might be impow-  
er'd to preside over that Election. This  
*Cato* at first oppos'd, saying, *That the  
Laws ought not to seek protection from Pom-  
pey, but Pompey from the Laws*: yet this  
Confusion lasting a long time, the *Forum*  
continually, as it were, besieged with  
three Armies, and no possibility of put-  
ting a stop to these Disorders; *Cato* at  
length agreed, that rather than fall into  
the last Extremity, the Senate should  
freely confer all on *Pompey*; since 'twas  
necessary to make use of a lesser Evil, to  
prevent a greater, and better to set up a  
Monarchy themselves, than to suffer a Se-  
dition to continue, that must certainly  
end in one. *Bibulus* therefore, a Relati-  
on of *Cato's*, moved the Senate to create  
*Pompey* sole Consul: For that either he  
would preserve the present Government, or  
they should live quietly under the most power-  
ful. *Cato* stood up, and, contrary to all  
expectation, seconded this Motion, con-  
cluding, *That any Government was better  
than Confusion, and that he did not question  
but Pompey would deal honourably, and  
take care of the Commonwealth, thus commit-  
ted to his charge.* *Pompey*, being hereup-  
on declared Consul, invited *Cato* to his  
House in the Suburbs. When he came,  
he saluted and embrac'd him very kindly,

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acknowledg'd the Favour he had done  
him, and desired his Counsel and Assist-  
ance, in the management of this Office.  
*Cato* made Answer, *That what he had spo-  
ken heretofore, was not out of Hate to Pom-  
pey, nor what he had now done, out of  
Love to him, but all for the good of the  
Commonwealth; that, in private, if he  
ask'd him, he would freely give his Advice,  
but in publick, tho' he ask'd him not, he  
would always speak his Opinion.* And he  
did accordingly: for first when *Pompey*  
made severe Laws for punishing, and lay-  
ing great Fines on those who had cor-  
rupted the People with Gifts, *Cato* advi-  
sed him, *To let alone what was already  
pass'd, and to provide for the future, for if  
he should seek into past Crimes, it would be  
difficult to know where to stop; and if he  
would ordain new Penalties, it would be un-  
reasonable to punish Men by a Law, which  
they had never broken.* Afterward, when  
many considerable Men, and some of *Pom-  
pey's* own Relations, were accused, he  
grew remiss, and let fall the Prosecution;  
but *Cato* sharply reprov'd him, and urg'd  
him to proceed. *Pompey* had made a  
Law also, to forbid the custom of making  
commendatory Orations, in behalf of  
those that were accused: yet he himself  
writ one for *Munatius Placcus*, and sent  
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it while the Cause was pleading ; which *Cato* seeing, he stopt his Ears with his Hands, and would not hear it read, for he was one of the Judges : whereupon *Flaccus*, before Sentence was given, excepted against him, but was condemned notwithstanding. And indeed *Cato* was the occasion of great Trouble and Perplexity, to almost all that were accused of any thing ; for they fear'd to have him one of their Judges, yet did not dare to reject him : and many had been condemned, because, refusing him, they seem'd not to trust their own Innocence. To others it was objected, as a great Reproach, the not accepting *Cato* for their Judge.

In the mean while, *Cæsar* lay with his Forces in *Gaule*, where he continued in Arms, and at the same time, by his Gifts, his Riches and his Friends, increas'd his Power in the City. Hereupon *Cato* forewarn'd *Pompey*, and rous'd him out of the negligent Security in which he lay, not imagining any Danger near : but seeing *Pompey* very slow, and unwilling or afraid to undertake any thing against *Cæsar*, *Cato* resolv'd himself to stand for the *Consulship*, and presently force *Cæsar*, either to lay down his Arms, or discover his Intentions. Both

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*Cato's* Competitors were Persons very much beloved by the People. *Sulpicius*, who was one, had by *Cato's* means acquired great Credit and Authority in the City ; therefore it was thought unhandson, and ungratefully done, to stand against him : but *Cato* did not take it ill ; For 'tis no wonder (said he) if a man will not yield to another, in that which he esteems the greatest Good. Now he perswaded the Senate to make an Order, That those who stood for Offices, should themselves ask the People for their Votes, and not solicit by others. This very much offended the common People ; for it took from them, not only the means of receiving Money, but also the opportunity of obliging several Persons, and so rendred them both poor, and less regarded. Besides, *Cato* himself was by nature altogether unfit for the business of Canvassing ; for he took more care to preserve the dignity of his Character, than to obtain the Office. Thus by following his own way of Solliciting, and not suffering his Friends to do those things which take with the Multitude, he lost the *Consulship*.

Whereas, upon such like Occasions, not only those who mis'd the Office, but even their Friends and Relations, used to be

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be much griev'd and out of Countenance for several days after ; yet *Cato* took it so unconcernedly, that he anointed himself, and play'd at Ball in the Field, and after Dinner went into the *Forum*, as he used to do, without his Shoos or his Coat, and there walked about with his Acquaintance. But *Cicero* blamed him ; for that when Affairs required such a Consul, he would not take any Care, nor shew the People any Civility : as also because that he afterward neglected to try again ; whereas he had stood a second time to be chosen *Prætor*. *Cato* answer'd, *That he lost the Prætorship the first time, not by any dislike of the People, but by the power and corruption of his Adversaries ; whereas in the election of Consuls there had been no foul dealing : so that he plainly saw, the People were offended at his Manners, which an honest man ought not to alter for their sake ; nor yet would a wise man attempt the same thing again, while he lyes under the same Prejudices.*

*Cæsar* was then fighting with many warlike Nations, whom he very bravely subdued : Among the rest, it seems, he had set upon the *Germans*, ( who yet were in Peace with the *Romans* ) and slew three hundred thousand of them. Upon which, some of his Friends moved  
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the Senate for a publick Thanksgiving : but *Cato* declared, *They ought to deliver Cæsar into the hands of those who had been thus unjustly assaulted, that they might expiate the Offence, and not bring a Curse upon the City ; yet we have reason ( said he ) to thank the Gods, for that they spared the Commonwealth, and did not take Vengeance upon the Army, for the Madness and Folly of the General.* Hereupon *Cæsar* writ a Letter, to the Senate, which was read openly ; 'twas full of reproachful Language and Accusations against *Cato* : who standing up, seemed not at all concern'd, and without any Heat or Passion, but with a calm, and, as it were, premeditated Discourse, expos'd the Scurrility and Folly of *Cæsar*, making it evident, that the Accusations he had heap'd together against him, were nothing but abusive and ridiculous Railing. Then he began to rip up all *Cæsar's* Practices, and laid open his Designs from the beginning, as clearly, as if he never had been an Enemy to him, but a constant Confederate with him : and told the Senate, *That if they were wise, they would not fear the Britains and Gauls, but Cæsar himself.* This Discourse so mov'd and awaken'd the Senate, that *Cæsar's* Friends repented, they had made the Letter be read, which had given *Cato* opportunity  
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many reasonable things, and such severe Truths against him. However, nothing was then concluded; only 'twas hinted, that they would do well to send him a Successor: hereupon Caesar's Friends required, That Pompey also should lay down his Arms, and resign his Provinces, or else that Caesar might not be obliged to either. Then Cato cry'd out, *What he had foretold, was come to pass; now 'twas manifest he would come upon them with his Forces, and turn against the State those Armies he had got, by deceitfully imposing on them.* Yet Cato could not prevail much out of the Senate-house; for the People always magnified Caesar, and the Senate were convinced by Cato, but were afraid of the People.

When News was brought, That Caesar had taken Ariminum, and was coming on with his Army toward Rome, then all men, even Pompey, and the common People too, cast their eyes on Cato, who had alone foreseen, and first clearly discover'd Caesar's Intentions. He therefore told them, *If you had believ'd me, or regarded my Advice, you would not now have been reduc'd to stand in fear of one Man, and also to put all your Hopes in one alone.* Then Pompey acknowledg'd, That Cato indeed had spoken most like a Prophet, and that him-

*himself had acted too much like a Friend.* Now Cato advis'd the Senate to put all into the hands of Pompey; for *those who can raise up great Evils, (said he) can best allay them.*

Pompey finding he had not sufficient Forces, and that those he could raise, were not very resolute, he forsook the City. Cato resolving to follow Pompey, sent his younger Son to Munatius, who was then in the Countrey of Brutium, and took his eldest with him; but wanting some body to keep his House, and take care of his Daughters, he took Marcia again, who was now a rich Widow, for Hortensius was dead, and had left her all his Estate. Caesar afterward made use of this Action also, to reproach him with Covetousness, and a mercenary Design in his Marriage: For (says he) *if he had need of a Wife, why did he part with her? and if he had not, why did he take her again? unless he gave her only as a Bait to Hortensius, and lent her when she was young, to have her again when she was rich.* But in Answer to this, we may apply the Saying of Euripides,

*First for Absurdities, and surely none  
Will Hercules for want of Courage blame.*

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Now 'tis alike absurd, to reproach *Hercules* for Cowardice, and to accuse *Cato* of Covetousness; though otherwise, whether he did altogether right in this Marriage, might be disputed: for as soon as he had again taken *Martia*, he committed his House and his Daughters to her, and himself followed *Pompey*.

'Tis said, that from that day he never cut his Hair, nor shav'd his Beard, nor wore a Garland, but always full of sadness, grief and dejectedness for the Calamities of his Countrey; he continually bore the same Habit to the last, whatever Party had Misfortune or Success.

The Government of *Sicily* being allotted to him, he pass'd over to *Syracuse*; where understanding, that *Asinius Pollio* was arrived at *Messana*, with Forces from the Enemy, *Cato* sent to him, to know the reason of his coming thither: *Pollio* on the other side, demanded of him the cause of these Commotions. *Cato* also hearing, that *Pompey* had quite abandon'd *Italy*, and lay incamp'd at *Dyrrachium*, he cry'd out, *How dark and uncertain is the Will of Heav'n!* *Pompey*, when he did nothing wisely nor honestly, was always successful; and now that he would preserve his Countrey, and defend her Liberty, he is altogether unfortunate. As for *Asinius*, he

said,

said, he could easily drive him out of *Sicily*; but there coming greater Forces to his Assistance, he would not engage the Island in a War: wherefore he advised the *Syracusians* to submit to the Conqueror, and provide for their own safety. Then he set Sayl from thence.

When he came to *Pompey*, he constantly gave Advice to prolong the War; for he always hoped to compose Matters, and would by no means that they should come to Action; for the Commonwealth would suffer extreamly, and be the certain cause of its own Ruine, whoever were the Conqueror. Moreover he perswaded *Pompey* and the Council of War to ordain, That no City should be sack'd, that was subject to the People of *Rome*; and that no *Roman* should be kill'd, but in the heat of Battel: thereby he got himself great Honour, and brought over many to the Party of *Pompey*, who were much taken with the Moderation and Humanity of *Cato*. Afterward, being sent into *Asia*, to assist those who were raising Men, and preparing Ships in those Parts, he took with him his Sister *Servilia*, and a little Boy which she had by *Lucullus*; for since her Widowhood, she had lived with her Brother, and very much recover'd her Reputation, having put her self

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under his Care, follow'd him in his Voyages, and comply'd with his severe way of Living; yet *Cæsar* did not fail to asperse him upon her account also.

*Pompey's* Officers in *Asia*, it seems, had no great need of *Cato*; but he brought over the People of *Rhodes* by his Persuasions, and leaving his Sister *Servilia* and her Child there, he returned to *Pompey*, who had now gotten together very great Forces both by Sea and Land. And here *Pompey* clearly betray'd his own Intentions; for at first he design'd to give *Cato* the Command of the Navy, (which consisted of no less than five hundred Ships of War, besides a vast number of Pinaces, Scouts, and Tenders.) But presently be-  
 thinking himself, or put in mind by his Friends, that *Cato's* principal and only aim, being to free his Countrey from all Usurpation, if he were Master of so great Forces, as soon as ever *Cæsar* should be conquered, he would certainly oblige *Pompey* to lay down his Arms, and be subject to the Laws: therefore *Pompey* chang'd his Mind; and tho' he had before mentioned it to *Cato*, yet he made *Bibulus* Admiral. Notwithstanding this, it appear'd, *Cato's* Affection to the public Good was no way diminish'd; for when they were ready to engage in a Conflict

at *Dyrrachium*, *Pompey* himself encouraged the Army, and commanded all the Officers to do the like: yet the Souldiers hearkened to them but coldly, and with silence. *Cato* spoke last of all, and discours'd to them out of the Principles of Philosophy, such things as the Occasion required, concerning Liberty, Valour, Death and Glory; all which he delivered with great vehemence of Affection, and concluded with an Invocation of the Gods, to whom he directed his Speech, as if they were present to behold them fight for their Countrey. At this the Army gave such a Shout, as fill'd all their Leaders with Hope, and made them fall on without fear of Danger. *Cæsar's* Party were routed, and put to flight; yet his good Fortune took such advantage of *Pompey's* Cautiousness and Diffidence, as rendred the Victory incomplete. But of this we have spoken in the Life of *Pompey*.

Now while all the rest rejoyc'd, and magnified their Success, *Cato* alone bewail'd his Countrey, and curs'd that fatal Ambition, which made so many brave *Romans* murder one another.

After this, *Pompey* following *Cæsar* into *Theffaly*, left at *Dyrrachium* a great quantity of Munition, store of Riches,

and many of his Domesticks and Relations ; the charge of all which he gave to *Cato*, with the Command only of fifteen Cohorts : for tho' he trusted him much, yet he was afraid of him too, knowing full well, that if he succeeded not, *Cato* would never forsake him ; but if he conquer'd, would never let him use his Victory at his pleasure. There were likewise many Persons of eminent Quality, that stay'd with *Cato* at *Dyrrachium*.

When they heard of the Overthrow at *Pharsalia*, *Cato* resolv'd with himself, that if *Pompey* were slain, he would conduct those that were with him, into *Italy*, and then retire as far from the Tyranny of *Cæsar* as he could, and live in Exile ; but if *Pompey* were safe, he would keep the Army together for him. With this Resolution he pass'd over to *Corcyra*, where the Navy lay ; there he would have resign'd his Command to *Cicero*, because he had been *Consul*, and himself only a *Prætor* : but *Cicero* refus'd it, and was going for *Italy*. At which *Pompey's* Son being incens'd, would rashly and in a heat have punish'd all those who were going away, and in the first place have laid hands on *Cicero* ; but *Cato* reprehended him in private, and diverted him from that Design. Thus apparently he sav'd the

the Life of *Cicero*, and preserv'd several others besides.

Now understanding that *Pompey* the Great was fled toward *Ægypt*, or *Lybia*, *Cato* resolv'd to hasten after him ; and having taken all his Men aboard, he set Sail ; but first to those who were not willing to engage, he gave free liberty to depart.

When they came to the Coast of *Africk*, they met with *Sextus*, *Pompey's* younger Son, who told them of the Death of his Father in *Ægypt* ; at which they were all exceedingly griev'd, and declared, that after *Pompey* they would follow no other Leader but *Cato*. Out of compassion therefore to so many worthy Persons, who had given such testimonies of their Fidelity, and whom he could not for shame leave in a desert Countrey, amidst so many Difficulties, he took upon him the Command, and march'd toward the City of *Cyrene*, which presently received him, tho' not long before they had shut their Gates against *Labienus*. Here he was inform'd, that *Scipio*, *Pompey's* Father-in-law, was received by King *Juba* ; and that *Appius Varus*, whom *Pompey* left Governour of *Lybia*, had joyn'd them with his Forces. *Cato* therefore resolv'd to march toward them by Land, it being

Winter; and having got together a great many Asses to carry Water, he furnished himself likewise with plenty of all other Provision, and a number of Carriages: he took also with him some of those they call *Pfills*, who cure the biting of Serpents, by sucking out the Poyson with their Mouths, and have likewise certain Charms, by which they stupifie and lay asleep the Serpents.

Thus they marched seven days together. *Cato* all the time went on Foot at the Head of his Men, and never made use of any Horse or Chariot. Ever since the Battel of *Pharsalia*, he used to sit at Table, and added this to his other ways of Mourning, that he never lay down but to sleep.

Having pass'd the Winter in *Lybia*, *Cato* drew out his Army, which amounted to little less than ten thousand. The Affairs of *Scipio* and *Varus* went very ill, by reason of their Dissentions and Quarrels among themselves, and their Submissions and Flatteries to King *Juba*, who was insupportable for his Vanity, and the Pride he took in his Strength and Riches. The first time he came to a Conference with *Cato*, he had ordered his own Seat to be placed in the middle, between *Scipio* and *Cato*: which *Cato* observing, took up his Chair,

Chair, and set himself on the other side of *Scipio*; to whom he thus gave the Honour of sitting in the middle, tho' he were his Enemy, and had formerly published a scandalous Libel against him. There are some who approve not this Action of *Cato's*: and yet on the other side blame him; for that in *Sicily*, walking one day with *Philostatus*, he gave him the middle Place, out of the Respect he bore to Philosophy. Thus did *Cato* pull down the Spirit of *Juba*, who before treated *Scipio* and *Varus* no better than his own Subjects: he reconciled them also to one another.

All the Army desired *Cato* to be their Leader: *Scipio* likewise and *Varus* gave way to it, and offer'd him the Command; but he said, He would not break those Laws, which he fought to defend; and he, being but *Pro-prætor*, ought not to command in the presence of a *Pro-consul*, (for *Scipio* had been created *Pro-consul*) besides that the People would take it as a good Omen, to see a *Scipio* command in *Africk*, and the very Name would give Courage to the Souldiers.

*Scipio* having taken upon him the Command, presently resolv'd (at the Instigation of *Juba*) to put all the Inhabitants of *Utica* to the Sword, and to raze the

City, for having (as they pretended) taken part with *Cæsar*. *Cato* would by no means suffer this; but invoking the Gods, exclaiming and protesting against it in the Council of War, he with much difficulty delivered the poor People from their Cruelty.

Afterward, upon the Entreaty of the Inhabitants, and at the Instance of *Scipio*, *Cato* took upon himself the Government of *Utica*, lest it should fall into *Cæsar*'s hands; for it was a strong Place, and very advantageous for either Party: yet it was better provided, and more fortified by *Cato*, who brought in great store of Corn, repair'd the Walls, erected Towers, made deep Trenches and Out-works round the Town. The young Men of *Utica* he lodg'd in the Trenches, having first taken their Arms from them; the rest of the Inhabitants he kept within the Town, and took great care, that no Injury should be done, nor Affront offer'd them by the *Romans*. From hence he sent great quantity of Arms, Money, and Provision, to the Camp, and made this City their chief Magazine.

He advis'd *Scipio*, as he had before done *Pompey*, by no means to hazard a Battle against a Man experienc'd in War, and encourag'd with Success, but to use delay;  
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*for time would cool the Heats and Passions of men, which are the chief support and strength of Usurpers.* But *Scipio* out of Pride rejected this Counsel, and writ a Letter to *Cato*; in which he reproach'd him with Cowardice; and that he could not content himself to lye secure within Walls and Trenches, but he must hinder others, that they might not make use of the Courage and Reason they have to lay hold on Occasions. In Answer to this, *Cato* writ word again, That he would take the Horse and Foot which he had brought into Africk, and go over into Italy, to give *Cæsar* some Diversion there. But *Scipio* derided this Proposition also. Then *Cato* openly avow'd, He was sorry he had yielded the Command to *Scipio*, who, he saw, would not use his Power wisely in the War; and if (contrary to all appearance) he should succeed, doubtless he would use his Success as unjustly at home. For *Cato* did then think, and so he told his Friends, That he could have but slender Hopes in those Generals, that had so much Boldness, and so little Conduct: yet if any thing should happen beyond Expectation, and *Cæsar* should be overthrown, for his part he would not stay at Rome, but would retire from the Cruelty and Inhumanity of *Scipio*, who had already given out fierce and proud Threats against many.

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But what *Cato* had look'd for, fell out sooner than he expected; for about midnight came one from the Army, (whence he had been three days coming) who brought word, There had been a great Battel near *Thapsus*; that all was utterly lost; *Cæsar* had taken both the Camps; *Scipio* and *Juba* were fled with a few only, and the rest cut to pieces. This News (as 'tis usual in War, and coming in the night too) did so frighten the People, that they were almost out of their Wits, and could scarce keep themselves within the Walls of the City: but *Cato* went out, and meeting the People in this Hurry and Clamour, did comfort and encourage them what he could; and something appeas'd the Fear and Amazement they were in, telling them, That very likely things were not so bad in truth, but more than half augmented by Report: thus he pacified the Tumult for the present. The next morning he assembled the three hundred, which he used as his Council; these were *Romans*, who traffick'd there in Merchandize and exchange of Money: there were also several Senators, and their Sons. While they were coming together, *Cato* walked about very quietly and unconcern'd, as if nothing new had happen'd. He had a

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Book in his Hand, which he was reading; in this Book was an account of what provision he had for War, Armour, Corn, Weapons, and Souldiers.

When they were assembled, he began his Discourse: *First with the three hundred themselves; and very much commended the Courage and Fidelity they had shown, and their having very well served their Countrey with their Persons, Money and Counsel. Then he entreated them by no means to separate, as if each single man could hope for any safety in forsaking his Companions: on the contrary, while they kept together, Cæsar would have less reason to despise them, if they fought against him, and be more forward to pardon them, if they submitted to him. Therefore he advis'd them to consult among themselves, nor would he dislike, whatever they should propose: if they thought fit to submit to Fortune, he would impute their Change to Necessity; but if they resolv'd to stand to it, and undergo some Danger for the sake of Liberty, he should not only commend, but admire their Valour, and would himself be their Leader and Companion too, till they had try'd the utmost Fortune of their Countrey, which was not Utica or Adrumetum, but Rome, and she had often by her own strength, rais'd her self out of greater Difficulties. Besides, as there were*

were many things, that would conduce to their Safety, so chiefly this, that they were to fight against one, who by his Affairs would be much distracted, and by several Occasions called into many several Places. Spain was already revolted to the younger Pompey; Rome was unaccustomed to the Bridle, and impatient of it, would therefore be ready for Commotions and Insurrections, upon every Turn of Affairs. As for themselves, they ought not to shrink from any Danger; and in this might take Example from their Enemy, who does so freely expose his Life to compass his unjust Designs, yet never can hope for so happy a conclusion, as they may promise themselves: for, notwithstanding the uncertainty of War, they will be sure of a most happy Life, if they succeed; or a most glorious Death, if they miscarry. However, he said, they ought to deliberate among themselves, and pray to the Gods, that in recompence of their former Courage and Good-will, they would direct their future Designs. When Cato had thus spoken, many were moved and encouraged by his Speech; but the greatest part were so animated by his Valour, Generosity, and Goodness, that they forgot the present Danger; and as if he were the only invincible Leader, and above all Fortune, they entreated him, *To imploy their Persons,*

*sons, Arms, and Estates, as he thought fit: for they esteem'd it far better to meet Death, in following his Counsel, than to find their safety, in betraying one of so great Virtue.* One of the Assembly propos'd the making a Decree, to set the Slaves at Liberty; and most of the rest approved the Motion. Cato said, *That ought not to be done, for it was neither just nor lawful; but if any of their Masters would willingly set them free, those that were fit for Service, should be received.* Which divers promised to do; whose Names he order'd to be enroll'd, and then withdrew.

Presently after this, he received Letters from Juba and Scipio. Juba, with some few of his Men, was retired to a Mountain, where he waited to hear what Cato would resolve upon, and intended to stay there for him, if he thought fit to leave Utica; or to relieve him with an Army, if he were besieged. Scipio also lay at Anchor, under a certain Promontory, not far from Utica, expecting an Answer upon the same account; but Cato thought fit to retain the Messengers, till the three hundred should come to some Resolution.

As for the Senators that were there, they shew'd great forwardness, and did presently set free their Slaves, and furnish them



them with Arms. But the three hundred being Men that dealt in Merchandize and Usury, much of their Substance also consisting in Slaves, the Heat that *Cato's* Speech had rais'd in them, did not long continue; as some Bodies that easily admit Heat, and as suddenly loose it, when the Fire is removed: so these Men were heated and inflamed, while *Cato* was present. But when they began to reason among themselves, the Fear they had of *Cæsar* soon overcame the Reverence they bore to *Cato*: *For who are we? (said they) and who is it we refuse to obey? Is it not that Cæsar, to whom all the Power of Rome has submitted? And which of us is a Scipio, a Pompey, or a Cato? But now that all Men make their Honour give way to their Fear, shall we alone engage for the Liberty of Rome? And in Utica declare War against him, from whom Cato and Pompey the Great fled out of Italy? Shall we set free our Slaves against Cæsar, who have our selves no more Liberty than he is pleas'd to allow? No, let us, poor Creatures, know our selves, submit to the Victor, and send Deputies to implore his Mercy.* Thus said the most moderate of them; but the greatest part were for seizing the Senators, that by securing them, they might appease *Cæsar's* Anger. *Cato*, though he perceiv'd the Change,

Change, took no notice of it; but wr it to *Juba* and *Scipio*, to keep away from *Utica*, because he mistrusted the three hundred.

A considerable Body of Horse, which had escaped from the late Fight, were coming toward *Utica*, and had sent three Men before to *Cato*, which yet did not all bring the same Message: for some were for going to *Juba*; others for joyn-ing with *Cato*; and some also were afraid to go into *Utica*. When *Cato* heard this, he ordered *Marcus Rubrius* to attend upon the three hundred, and quietly take the Names of those, who of their own accord set their Slaves at Liberty, but by no means to force any body. Then talking with him the Senators, he went out of the Town, and met the principal Officers of those Horsemen; whom he entreated not to abandon so many worthy Roman Senators, nor to prefer *Juba* for their Commander before *Cato*, but to seek the mutual safety of one another, and to come into the City, which was impregnable, and well furnish'd with Corn, and other Provision, sufficient for many years: the Senators likewise with Tears besought them to stay. Hereupon the Officers went to consult their Souldiers, and *Cato* with the Senators sat down upon the Works,

Works, expecting their Resolution. In the mean time comes *Rubrius* in great Disorder, crying out, The three hundred were all in Commotion, and raising Tumults in the City. At this all the rest fell into Despair, lamenting and bewailing their condition; but *Cato* endeavour'd to comfort them, and sent to the three hundred, desiring them to have a little patience. Then the Officers of the Horse returned, with no very reasonable Demands. *They said, they did not desire to serve Juba for his Pay, nor should they fear Cæsar, while they follow'd Cato; but they dreaded to be shut up with the Uticans, Men of a traiterous Nature, and Carthaginian Race: for tho' they were quiet at present, yet as soon as Cæsar should appear, without doubt they would conspire together, and betray the Romans. Therefore if he expected they should joyn with him, he must drive out of the Town, or destroy all the Uticans, that he might receive them into a Place void both of Enemies and Barbarians. This Cato thought very cruel and barbarous; but he mildly answered, He would consult the three hundred.*

Then he returned to the City, where he found the Men, not framing Excuses, or dissembling, out of Reverence to him; but openly refusing to make War against

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*Cæsar; which (they said) they were neither able, nor willing to do. And some there were who muttered out something, about retaining the Senators till Cæsar's coming; but Cato seemed not to hear this, for he was a little deaf. At the same time came one to him, and told him, The Horse were going away. Cato fearing lest the three hundred should take some desperate Resolution concerning the Senators, he presently went out with some of his Friends; and seeing they were gone some way, he took Horse, and rid after them. They, when they saw him coming, were very glad, and receiv'd him very kindly, entreating him to save himself with them. At this time ('tis said) Cato shed Tears; while earnestly begging for the Senators, and stretching out his Hands, some of their Horses he stopp'd, and hung upon their Arms, till he had prevailed with them, out of Compassion, to stay only that one day, to procure a safe Retreat for the Senators. Having thus perswaded them to go along with him, some he plac'd at the Gates of the Town, and to others gave the charge of the Citadel. Now the three hundred began to fear, they should suffer for their Inconstancy, and sent to *Cato*, entreating him by all means to come to them; but the Sena-*

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tors flocking about him, would not suffer him to go, and said, They would not trust their Guardian and Saviour to the Hands of perfidious Traitors.

At this instant (in my opinion) did most evidently appear to all in *Utica*, the Excellence, the Clearness, and admirable Simplicity of *Cato's* Virtue; how sincere, untainted, and free it was from any mixture of Self-regard: that he, who had long before resolv'd on his own Death, should take such extream pains, toil, and care, only for the sake of others: that when he had secured their Lives, he might put an end to his own; for 'twas easily perceived, that he had determined to die, tho' he did endeavour not to let it appear.

Therefore having pacified the Senators, he hearkened to the Request of the three hundred, and went to them alone without any Attendance. *They gave him many thanks, and entreated him to employ and trust them for the future; but in that they were not Cato's, and could not come up to his greatness of Courage, they begg'd, he would pity their weakness; and told him, they had decreed to send to Cæsar, and entreat him chiefly, and in the first place for Cato; and if they could not prevail for him, they would not accept of pardon for themselves,*

*selves, but as long as they had breath, would fight in his defence. Cato commended their good Intentions; and advised them to send speedily, for their own safety, but by no means to ask any thing in his behalf; for those who are conquer'd, must submit, and those who have done wrong, beg pardon: for himself, he was never overcome in all his Life, but rather so far as he thought fit, had got the Victory, and had conquered Cæsar, in what was just and honest. And indeed Cæsar might be look'd upon, as one surpris'd and vanquish'd; for he was now forc'd to discover and own those Designs, which he had so long deny'd, and always practis'd against his Countrey. When he had thus spoken, he went out of the Assembly; and being informed, that Cæsar was coming with his whole Army; Alas! (said he) does he come against us, as against men? Then he went to the Senators, and urged them to make no delay, but hasten to be gone, while the Horsemen were yet in the City. So ordering all the Gates to be shut, except one toward the Sea, he appointed Ships for those that were to depart, and gave Money and Provision to those that wanted: All which he did with great Order and Exactness, taking care to suppress all Tumults, and that no wrong should be done to the People.*

*Marcus Octavius* coming with two Legions, encamped near *Utica*, and sent to *Cato*, to treat about the chief Command. *Cato* return'd him no Answer, but said to his Friends; *Na wonder all goes ill with us, who are so much taken up with Ambition, even upon the point of our Ruine.* In the mean time word was brought him, that the Horse were going away, and about to spoyl and plunder the *Uticans*. *Cato* ran to them, and from the first he met, snatch'd what they had taken; the rest threw down all they had gotten, and went away silent, and asham'd of what they had done. Then he called together the Citizens of *Utica*, and requested them, in behalf of the three hundred, not to exasperate *Cæsar* against them, but all to seek their common Safety together with them. After that he went again to the Port, to see those who were about to imbarck; and there he embrac'd and dismiss'd those of his Friends and Acquaintance, whom he had perswaded to go. As for his Son, he did not counsel him to be gone, nor did he think fit to perswade him to forsake his Father. But there was one *Statyllius*, a young Man, in the flower of his Age, one of a brave Spirit, and very desirous to imitate the invincible Constancy of *Cato*, who entreated him to go away,

away, for he was a noted Enemy to *Cæsar*; but he refused to go. Then *Cato* looking upon *Apollonides* the Stoick Philosopher, and *Demetrius* the Peripatetick; *It belongs to you* (said he) *to bring down this young man's Spirit, and to make him know what is good for him.* Thus having dismiss'd all the rest, he returned to his Affairs, gave Audience, and dispatch'd Business; in which he spent that night, and the greatest part of the next day.

*Lucius Cæsar*, a Kinsman of *Julius Cæsar's*, being appointed to go Deputy for the three hundred, came to *Cato*, and desired he would assist him to make a persuasive Speech for them: *And as to you your self*, (said he) *I shall not scruple to kiss the Hands, and fall at the Knees of Cæsar, in your behalf.* But *Cato* would by no means permit him to do any such thing: *For as to my self*, (said he) *if I would be preserved by Cæsar's Favour, I should my self go to him; but I will not be beholding to a Tyrant, for those very things that are Marks of Tyranny: for 'tis an instance of his Usurpation to preserve men, as if he were Lord of their Lives, over whom he has no right to reign; but if you please, let us consider what you had best say for the three hundred.* And when they had continued some time together, as *Lucius* was going away,

away, *Cato* recommended to him his Son, and the rest of his Friends; and taking him by the Hand, bid him farewell.

Then he retired to his House again, and called together his Son and his Friends; to whom he discoursed of several things: Among the rest, he forbade his Son to engage himself in the Affairs of State; *For to act therein, as became him, was now impossible; and to do otherwise, would be dishonourable.*

Toward Evening he went into his Bath. As he was bathing, he remembered *Statyllius*, and cryed out aloud, *Well Apollonides, you have brought down the high Spirit of Statyllius; and is he gone without bidding us farewell? No, (said Apollonides) I have discours'd much to him, but to little purpose; he is still resolute and unalterable, and declares, he is determin'd to follow your Example.* At this ('tis said) *Cato* smiled, and answer'd, *That will soon be try'd.*

After he had bath'd, he went to Supper, with a great deal of Company, at which he sat, as he had always us'd to do, ever since the Battel of *Pharsalia*; for since that time he never lay down, but when he went to sleep. There supped with him all his own Acquaintance, and several of the principal Citizens of *Utica*.

After

After Supper, the Wine produced a great deal of Wit, and learned Discourse; many Philosophical Questions were discuss'd: At length they came to the strange Opinions of the *Stoicks*, called Paradoxes; and to this in particular, *That the good man only is free, and that all wicked men are Slaves.* The *Peripatetick* (as 'tis likely) opposing this, *Cato* fell upon him very warmly; and somewhat raising his Voice, he argued the Matter in a Discourse of some length, which he urged with such wonderful Vehemence, that 'twas apparent to every body, he was resolv'd to put an end to his Life, and set himself at Liberty. Hereupon, when he had done speaking, there was a great Silence, and the Company much dejected: but *Cato*, to divert them from any suspicion of his Design, turned the Discourse, and fell again to talk of the present Affairs, shewing great Concern for those that were at Sea, as also for the others, who travelling by Land, were to pass through a dry and barbarous Desert.

When the Company was broke up, *Cato* walked with his Friends, as he us'd to do after Supper, gave the necessary Orders to the Officers of the Watch; and going into his Chamber, he embraced

his Son, and every one of his Friends, with more than usual Ardour, which again renew'd their suspicion of his Design. Then laying himself down, he took into his Hand *Plato's* Dialogue concerning the Soul: having read more than half the Book, he looked up, and missing his Sword, (which his Son had taken away, while he was at Supper) he called his Servant, and asked, Who had taken away his Sword? The Servant making no Answer, he fell to reading again: And a little after, not seeming importunate, or hasty for it, but as if he would only know what was become of it, he bid it be brought. But having stay'd some time, he had read over the Book, and no body brought the Sword: whereupon he called up all his Servants, and in a hasty Tone demanded his Sword. To one of them he gave such a Blow in the Mouth, that he hurt his own Hand; and now grew more angry, crying out, He was betray'd, and deliver'd naked to the Enemy, by his Son and his Servants. Then his Son with the rest of his Friends, came running into the Room, and falling at his Feet, began to lament and beseech him: But *Cato* raising up himself, and looking fiercely; *When* (said he) *and how did I fall distracted? Why does no body persuade*

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*me by Reason, or teach me what is better, if I have design'd any thing that's ill? But must I be disarm'd, and hindred from using my own Reason? And you, young man, why don't you bind your Father's Hands behind him, that when Cæsar comes, he may find me unable to defend my self? Nor do I want a Sword to dispatch my self; I need but hold my Breath a while, or strike my Head against the Wall.* When he had thus spoken, his Son went weeping out of the Chamber, and with him all the rest, except *Demetrius* and *Apollonides*; who being left alone with him, to them he began to speak more calmly: *And you, (said he) do you think to keep a Man of my Age alive by Force? And do you sit silent here to watch me? Or can you bring any Reason to prove, that it is not base, and unworthy Cato, when he can find his Safety no other way, to seek it from his Enemy? Or why do you not persuade us, to unlearn what we have been taught, that rejecting all the Opinions we have hitherto established, we may now by Cæsar's means grow wiser, and be yet more oblig'd to him, than for Life only? Not that I have determin'd ought concerning my self, but I would have it in my power to perform, what I shall think fit to resolve; and I shall not fail to ask your Counsel, when I have occasion to use what your Philosophy teaches: in the mean time,*

time, don't trouble your selves, but go tell my Son, that he should not compel his Father, to what he cannot persuade him. They made him no Answer, but went weeping out of the Chamber. Then the Sword being brought in by a little Boy, *Cato* took it, drew it out, and looked on it; and when he saw the Point was good, Now (said he) *I am Master of my self*: And laying down the Sword, he took his Book again, which, 'tis reported, he read twice over. After this he slept so soundly, that he was heard snore by those that were without.

About Midnight he called up two of his Freed-men, *Cleanthes*, his Physician, and *Butas*, whom he chiefly imploy'd in publick Affairs: him he sent to the Port, to see if all the *Romans* were gone: to the Physician he gave his Hand to be dressed, for it was swell'd by the Blow he had struck one of his Servants. At this they all rejoyc'd, hoping that now he design'd to live.

*Butas*, after a little while, returned, and brought word, they were all gone, except *Crassus*, who had stay'd about some Business, but was just ready to depart: he said also, That the Wind was high, and the Sea very rough. *Cato* hearing this, sigh'd, out of compassion to those

those who were at Sea, and sent *Butas* again, to see if any of them should happen to return for any thing they wanted, and to acquaint him therewith.

Now the Birds began to sing, and *Cato* again fell into a little Slumber. At length *Butas* came back, and told him, All was quiet in the Haven: Then *Cato*, laying himself down, as if he would sleep out the rest of the night, bid him shut the Door after him. But as soon as *Butas* was gone out, he took his Sword, and stabb'd it into his Breast; yet not being able to use his Hand so well, by reason of the Swelling, he did not immediately die of the Wound, but struggling, fell out of the Bed, and throwing down a little Mathematical Table that stood by, made such a noise, that the Servants hearing it, cry'd out. And immediately his Son and all his Friends came into the Chamber, where seeing him lye weltring in his Blood, great part of his Bowels out of his Body, himself not quite dead, but looking ghastly, they all stood amazed. The Physician went to him, and would have put in his Bowels, which were not pierced, and sow'd up the Wound: *Cato* hereupon coming to himself, thrust away the Physician, pluck'd out his own Bowels, and tearing open the Wound, immediately expired.

In less time than one would think his own Family could have known this Accident, all the three hundred were at the Door. And a little after the People of *Utica* flock'd thither, crying out with one Voice, *He was their Benefactor, and their Saviour, the only free, and only invincible man.* At the very same instant they had News that *Cæsar* was coming; yet neither fear of the present Danger, nor desire to flatter the Conqueror, nor the Commotions and Discord among themselves, could divert them from doing Honour to *Cato*: for they sumptuously set out his Body, made him a magnificent Funeral, and buried him by the Sea-side, where now stands his Statue, holding a Sword. Which being done, they returned to consider of preserving themselves and their City.

*Cæsar* had been advertised, that *Cato* stay'd at *Utica*, and did not seek to fly: that he had sent away the rest of the *Romans*, but himself, with his Son, and a few of his Friends, continued there very unconcernedly; so that he could not imagine what might be his Design: but having a great Consideration for the Man, he hastned thither with his Army. When he heard of *Cato's* Death, 'tis reported, he said these words: *Cato, I envy thee thy*

*thy Death, for thou hast envy'd me the preservation of thy Life.* And indeed if *Cato* would have suffer'd himself to be preserved by *Cæsar*, 'tis like he would not so much have impair'd his own Honour, as augmented the others Glory; yet what would have been done, we cannot know, but from *Cæsar's* usual Clemency, we may guess what was most likely.

*Cato* was forty eight years old when he dy'd. His Son suffered no Injury from *Cæsar*; but 'tis said, he grew idle, and debauch'd with Women. In *Cappadocia* he lodg'd at the House of *Marphadates*, one of the Royal Family, who had a very handsom Wife, where staying longer than was decent, he was reflected on by some, that made such Jest as these upon him: *Cato goes to morrow, after thirty days, and Porcius and Marphadates are two Friends, that have but one Soul, (for Marphadates Wife was named Psyche, i. e. Soul:)* and *Cato is very well born, and an illustrious Man, for he has a Royal Soul.*

But all these Stains were clearly wip'd off by the Bravery of his Death; for in the Battel of *Philippi*, where he fought for his Countrey's Liberty, against *Cæsar* and *Antony*, when the Army was broken, he disdaining to fly or to escape, called out to the Enemy, shew'd them who he was,



was, and encouraged those of his Party to stay : At length he fell, and left his Enemies in admiration of his Valour.

Nor was the Daughter of *Cato* inferior to the rest of her Family, for Prudence and greatness of Spirit. She was married to *Brutus*, who killed *Cæsar* ; was acquainted with that Conspiracy, and ended her Life, as became one of her Birth and Virtue. All which is related in the Life of *Brutus*.

*Statyllius*, who said he would imitate *Cato*, was at that time hindered by the Philosophers, when he would have put an end to his Life. He afterward follow'd *Brutus*, to whom he was very faithful, and very serviceable, and died in the Field of *Philippi*.

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## AGIS AND CLEOMENES.



M. Burg. sculp.

THE  
LIFE  
OF  
AGIS.

THE Fable of *Ixion*, who embracing a Cloud instead of *Juno*, begot the *Centaur*s, was ingeniously enough invented to represent to us ambitious Men, whose Minds doting on Glory, (which is a meer Image of Virtue) produce nothing that is genuine or uniform, but born away by violent and contrary Passions, their Actions being the offspring of such a Conjunction, must needs be deform'd and unnatural; and they may

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say with the Herdsmen, in the Tragedy of *Sophocles*,

*We follow those whom we ought to govern,  
And they command us, tho' they are dumb.*

That is indeed the true condition of those ambitious Men, who to gain a vain Title of Magistracy, are content to subject themselves to the Humours of the People: for as they who row in the fore-part of the Ship, may seem to guide the Motions of it, yet have continually an eye on the Pilot who sits at the Helm, and must proceed in the Course he will steer; so these Men, steer'd as I may say by popular Applause, tho' they bear the Name of Governours, are in reality Slaves to the *Mobile*. The Man who is compleatly wise and virtuous, regards not Glory, but only as it disposes and prepares his way to great Attempts. A young Man, I grant, may be permitted to glory a little in his good Actions; for (as *Theophrastus* says) his Virtues which are yet tender, and as it were in the bud, cherish'd and supported by Praises, grow stronger, and take the deeper root: but when this Passion is exorbitant, 'tis dangerous in all men, and especially in those who govern a Commonwealth; for being joyn'd with an

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unlimited Power, it often transports men to a degree of Madness, so that now they no more seek Glory by Virtue, but will have those Actions only esteem'd good that are glorious. As *Phocion* therefore answer'd King *Antipater*, who sought his Approbation of some unworthy Action, *I cannot be your Flatterer, and your Friend*; so these men shou'd answer the People, *I cannot govern, and obey you*: lest it shou'd happen to the Commonwealth, as to the Serpent in the Fable, whose Tail rising in rebellion against the Head, complain'd (as of a great Grievance) that it was always forc'd to follow, and pray'd, it might be permitted by Turns to lead the way; which being granted but for a day, quickly discover'd the Folly, by the Mischiefs which beset the whole Body, and particularly to the Head, in following, contrary to Nature, a Guide that was deaf and blind. The same we see does every day happen to many, who guided by the Inclinations of an ignorant and giddy Multitude, must needs bring all things to Confusion.

This is what has occur'd to us to say of that Glory which depends on the Vulgar, considering the sad effects of it in the Misfortunes of *Cains*, and *Tiberius Gracchus*, Men nobly born, whose gene-

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rous Disposition by Nature was improv'd by an excellent Education, and who came to the Administration of Affairs with very sincere Intentions, yet they were ruin'd, I cannot say, by an immoderate desire of Glory, but by a more excusable fear of Infamy; for being excessively belov'd and favour'd by the People, they thought it an Ingratitude to deny them any thing, till the People and They mutually inflam'd, and vying with each other in Honours and Benefits, things were at last brought to such a pass, that they might say according to the Proverb,

*T'engage so far we were to blame,  
And to retreat 'tis now a shame.*

This the judicious Reader will easily gather from the Story. I will now compare with them, two *Lacedemonian* Kings, *Agis* and *Cleomenes*; for they being desirous also to please the People, by restoring their obsolete Laws of Equality, incur'd the Hatred of the Rich and Powerful, who could not endure to be depriv'd of those Advantages, which did so gloriously distinguish them from the Vulgar. These were not indeed Brothers by Nature, as the two *Romans*, but they had a kind of brotherly Resemblance in their

their Actions and Designs, which took a Rise from Beginnings and Occasions, as I am now about to relate.

When Gold and Silver (the great Debauchers of Mankind) had once gain'd Admittance into the *Lacedemonian* Commonwealth, 'twas quickly follow'd by Avarice, baseness of Spirit, and all manner of Frauds in the possession, by Riot, Luxury, and Effeminacy in the use. Then *Sparta* fell from her original Virtue and Glory, and so continued till the days of *Agis* and *Leonidas*, who both together were Kings of the *Lacedemonians*.

*Agis* was of the Royal Family of *Eurytion*, Son of *Eudamidas*, and the sixth in descent from *Agessilaus*, who being chief Commander of the *Greeks*, gain'd so great Renown in the so famous Expedition into *Asia*. *Agessilaus* left behind him a Son call'd *Archidamus*, who being slain by the *Calabrians* at *Mardonium* in *Italy*, was succeeded by his eldest Son *Agis*; he being kill'd by *Arctabater* near *Megalopolis*, and leaving no Issue, was succeeded by his Brother *Eudamidas*; he by a Son call'd *Archidamus*; and *Archidamus* by another *Eudamidas*, the Father of this *Agis* of whom we now treat.

*Leonidas*, Son of *Cleonimus*, was of the other Royal Branch of the *Agiaes*, and

the eighth in descent from *Pausanias*, who defeated *Mardonius* in the Battel of *Platea*. *Pausanias* was succeeded by a Son call'd *Plistonax*; and he by another *Pausanias*, who being banish'd, and leading a private Life at *Tegea*, his eldest Son *Agisipolis* reign'd in his place; he dying without Issue, was succeeded by a younger Brother call'd *Cleombrotus*, who left two Sons: the elder was *Agisipolis*, who reign'd but a short time, and died without Issue; the younger was call'd *Cleomenes*, who had also two Sons, *Acrotatus* and *Cleonimus*: the first died before his Father, but left a Son call'd *Arens*, who succeeded, and being slain at *Corinth*, left the Kingdom to his Son *Acrotatus*: This *Acrotatus* was defeated, and slain near *Megalopolis*, in a Battel against the Tyrant *Aristodemus*; he left his Wife big with Child, who being deliver'd of a Son, *Leonidas* (Son of the above-named *Cleonimus*) was made his Guardian, and the young man dying in his Minority, he succeeded in the Kingdom.

*Leonidas* was a Man in no great Esteem with the People: for tho' there were at that time a general Corruption in Manners, yet a greater aversion to the old Institutions, appear'd in him than in others; for having liv'd a long time among the great

great Lords of *Persia*, and been a follower of King *Seleucus*, he unadvisedly would imitate the Pride and Luxury of those Courts, in the limited Government of a *Grecian* Commonwealth.

*Agis* on the contrary shew'd himself to all men obliging and affable, and did in goodness of Nature, and greatness of Mind, not only far excel *Leonidas*, but in a manner all the Kings that had reign'd since the great *Agisilaus*. For tho' he had been bred very tenderly, and in abundance of all things, by his Mother *Agisistrata*, and his Grandmother *Archidamia*, (who were the wealthiest of the *Lacedemonians*) yet before the Age of twenty, he so far overcame himself, as to renounce effeminate Pleasures. He was a very handsom Person, and of a graceful Behaviour; yet to give a Check to the Vanity he might take therein, would go always plain and mean in his Cloaths. In his Diet, Bathings, and in all his Exercises, he chose to imitate the old *Laconian* Frugality and Temperance, and was often heard to say, He would not desire the Kingdom, if he did not hope by means of that Authority to restore their ancient Laws and Discipline.

The *Lacedemonians* might date the beginning of their Corruption from their

Conquest of *Athens*, which was the first occasion of their Wealth and Luxury; yet nevertheless the *Agrarian* Law remaining in force, (by which every one was oblig'd to leave his lot or portion of Land entirely to his Son) a kind of Order and Equality was thereby maintain'd, which still in some degree preserv'd them from Ruine. But one *Epitadeus* happening to be *Ephore*, a Man of a factious violent Spirit, and on some occasion incens'd against his Son, he procur'd a Decree, that all men shou'd have liberty to dispose of their Land by Gift or Sale, or by their last Will and Testament; which being promoted by him to satisfy a passion of Revenge, and through Covetousness consented to by others, an excellent Institution was abrogated; the effect whereof was, that the monied men coveting to possess the Land, the right Heirs were by degrees disinherited, and all the Wealth being in the hands of a few, the generality were poor and miserable; Liberal Arts and Sciences were neglected, and the City fill'd with a mean sort of Mechanicks, always envious, and hating the Rich: there did not remain above 700 of the old *Spartan* Families, of which perhaps 100 might have Estates in Land; the rest were an abject,

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low-spirited People, who having no sense of Honour, were unwillingly drawn to the Wars, and ever greedy of Novelty and Change.

*Agis* therefore believing it a glorious Action, (as in truth it was) to repeople the City, and to bring them back to their first Institution, began to sound the Inclinations of the Citizens. He found the young Men dispos'd beyond his expectation; for being taken with the specious Name of Liberty, they seem'd as ready to shift their Manners as their Cloaths; but the old Men habituated and more confirm'd in their Vices, were startled at the very Name of *Lycurgus*, as a fugitive Slave fears to be brought back before his offended Master: these men cou'd not endure to hear *Agis* continually deploring the present state of *Sparta*, and wishing she might be restor'd to her ancient Glory. But on the other side, *Lysander*, the Son of *Lybis*, *Mandroclidas*, the Son of *Ecphanes*, together with *Agésilauus*, did not only approve his Design, but assisted and confirm'd him in it. *Lysander* had a great Authority and Credit with the People; *Mandroclidas* was esteem'd the ablest Man of his Time, to manage any Affair in the *Grecian* Assemblies, and joyn'd with skill, had a great degree of Boldness;

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*Agésilas* was the King's Uncle by the Mothers side, an eloquent Man, but covetous and voluptuous ; he was not mov'd by any Consideration of publick Good, but rather seem'd to be perswaded to it by his Son *Hypomedon*, ( whose Courage and signal Actions in War had gain'd him a high Esteem among the young Men of *Sparta* ) tho' indeed the true Motive was, because he had many Debts, and hop'd by this means to be freed from them. As soon as *Agis* had prevail'd with his Uncle, he endeavour'd by his mediation to gain his Mother also, who being exceeding rich, had by her many Creditors, Friends and Followers, a considerable Power in the City. At the first proposal she was very averse, and earnestly advis'd her Son not to engage in so difficult and so dangerous an Enterprize ; but *Agésilas* endeavour'd to possess her, that the thing was not so difficult as she imagin'd, and that it might in all likelihood redound to the great Honour and Advantage of her Family. The King her Son earnestly besought her, not to decline assisting him in so glorious a Design ; he told her, he cou'd not pretend to equal other Kings in Riches, the very Followers and Servants of *Seleucus* or *Ptolomy*, abounding more in Wealth, than all the *Spartan* Kings put to-

together : but if by Virtue and greatness of Mind he cou'd out-do them, and if by his means *Sparta* cou'd be restor'd to her ancient Splendor, he shou'd then be a great King indeed. In conclusion, the Mother and the Grandmother also were so taken with the young man's generous Ambition, that they not only consented, but were ready on all occasions to spur him on to a Perseverance, and did engage with him not only the men with whom they had an Interest, but the Women also, knowing well that the *Lacedemonian* Wives had always a great power with their Husbands, who us'd to impart to them their State-Affairs, with greater freedom than the Women wou'd communicate with the Men in the private Business of their Families : which was indeed one of the greatest Obstacles to this Design ; for the Money of *Sparta* being most of it in the Womens hands, 'twas their Interest to oppose it, not only as depriving them of those superfluous Trifles, in which through want of Virtue they plac'd their chief Felicity, but also because they knew their Riches was the main support of their Power and Credit.

Those therefore who were of this Faction, had recourse to *Leonidas*, represent-

sending to him, how it was his part, as the elder and more experienc'd, to put a stop to the ill-advised Projects of a rash young Man. *Leonidas*, tho' of himself sufficiently inclin'd to oppose *Agis*, durst not openly for fear of the People, who did manifestly favour him, and were desirous of this Change; but under-hand he did all he cou'd to incense the chief Magistrates against him, and on all occasions craftily insinuated, that *Agis* having design'd an arbitrary Government, would divide among the Poor what belong'd to the Rich, as a Bribe for a future Service: That instead of so many rich Citizens of *Sparta*, he might have a Company of Slaves to be his Guard.

*Agis* nevertheless little regarding these Rumors, caus'd *Lyfander* to be chosen *Ephore*; then took the first occasion of proposing his *Rhetra* or Decree to the Senate, the chief Articles whereof were these: *That every one shou'd be freed from their Lots: All the Lands to be divided into equal portions: Those that lay betwixt the Valley of Pellene and Mount Tegetum, as far as the Cities of Maller and Sellasia, into 4500 Lots; the remainder into 1500; these last to be shar'd by some chos'n out of the adjacent Countreys, men able and fit to bear Arms: The first among the natural Spar-*

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tans, admitting also of Strangers to supply their Number, those who were young, vigorous and ingenious. All these were to be divided into ten Companies, some of four hundred, and some of two, with a Diet and Discipline agreeable to the Laws of *Lycurgus*.

This Decree being propos'd in the Senate, occasion'd a hot Debate; so that *Lyfander* doubting the Event, wou'd not expect the Issue, but immediately convok'd the great Assembly of the People, to whom he, *Mandroclidas* and *Agefilans* made Orations, exhorting them, that they wou'd not suffer the Majesty of *Sparta* to be brought into Contempt, to gratifie a few rich Men, who by specious pretences endeavour'd to delude them, only that they themselves might pass their time in Riot and Delights. They bad them call to mind, how ancient Oracles had forewarn'd them to beware of Avarice, as the very Plague and utter Ruine of *Sparta*: That they shou'd think of the Oracle lately deliver'd from the famous Temple of *Pasiphae* in *Theclamia*. Some say, this *Pasiphae* was one of the Daughters of *Atlas*, who had by *Jupiter* a Son call'd *Ammon*: Others are of opinion, it was *Cassandra*, the Daughter of King *Priamus*, who dying in this Place, was call'd

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*Pasiphae*, as who shou'd say, clearly revealing Secrets, as the Light discovers all things to the Eye : Others will have it, that this was *Daphne*, the Daughter of *Amiclas*, who flying from *Apollo*, was transform'd into a Lawrel, and honour'd by that God with the Gift of Prophecie. But be it as it will, 'tis certain the People were made to apprehend, that this Oracle had commanded them to return to their former state of Equality. As soon as these had done speaking, *Agis* stood up, and said, He wou'd not amuse them with vain words, but contribute to what had been propos'd for their Advantage by real Effects. In the first place, he wou'd divide among them all his Patrimony, which was of large extent in Tillage and Pasture ; he wou'd also give 600 Talents in ready Money, and that his Mother, Grandmother, and his other Friends and Relations, who were the richest of the *Lacedemonians*, were ready to follow his Example. The People transported with admiration of the young man's Generosity, highly applauded, and loudly declar'd, there had not been for 300 years so worthy a King in *Sparta*.

But on the other side, *Leonidas* was now more than ever averse, being sensible that he and his Friends wou'd be oblig'd

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to contribute with their Riches, and yet all the Honour and Obligation wou'd rebound to *Agis*. He ask'd him then before them all, Whether *Lycurgus* were not in his opinion a vast and a wise Man ? *Agis* answering, He was : And when did *Lycurgus* ( reply'd *Leonidas* ) cancel Debts, or admit of Strangers ? he who thought the Commonwealth not secure unless they were excluded. To this *Agis* reply'd, 'Tis no wonder that *Leonidas*, who has married, and has Children by a Wife taken out of a *Persian* Court, shou'd know little of *Lycurgus* or his Laws. *Lycurgus* took away both Debts and Usury, by taking away Money, and excluded Strangers, such as wou'd not conform to the Laws of his Commonwealth, not for any Ill-will to them, but lest they shou'd infect the City with their Covetousness ; for otherwise 'tis well known, that he himself gladly kept *Terpander*, *Thales* and *Phericides*, tho' they were Strangers, because he perceiv'd they were of the same Mind with him. And you that use to praise *Eprepes*, who being *Ephore*, cut off two Strings from the Instrument of *Phrynis* the Musitian, and to commend those who did afterwards imitate him, with what face can you blame me, for designing to cut off Superfluity and Luxury from the Commonwealth ?

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do you think those men were so concern'd only about a Fiddle-string, or intended any thing else, than by checking the voluptuousness of Musick, to keep out a way of living, which might destroy the harmony of the City.

From this time forward as the common People follow'd *Agis*, so the rich Men adher'd to *Leonidas*, who joyning his Authority with their Interest, things were so manag'd in the Senate, ( whose chief Power consisted in preparing all Laws before they were propos'd to the People ) that with much ado the designed *Rhetoric* of *Agis* was rejected, tho' but by one only Vote ; whereupon *Lysander*, who ( as we said ) was *Ephore*, and of *Agis* his Party, resolving to be reveng'd on *Leonidas*, drew up an Information against him grounded on two old Laws : The one forbids any of the Race of *Hercules* to marry a Stranger ; and the other makes it capital for a *Lacedemonian* to travel into foreign Countreys. Whilst he set others on to manage this Accusation, he with his Collegues went to observe the Stars, which was a Custom they had, and perform'd in this manner. Every ninth year the *Ephori* choosing a Star-light Night ( when there was neither Cloud nor Moon ) sat down together in quiet and silence ; and if they chanc'd to spy the shooting

of a Star, they presently pronounc'd their King guilty of some great Crime against the Gods, and thereupon he was immediately secluded from all Exercise of Regal Power, till he could be reliev'd by an Oracle from *Delphos* or *Olympus*.

*Lysander* therefore assur'd the People, he had seen a Star shoot, and at the same time *Leonidas* was cited to answer for himself. Witnesses were produc'd to testify he had married an *Asian* Woman, bestow'd on him by one of King *Seleucus* his Lieutenants ; that he had two Children by her, but there happening some difference betwixt them, she did so mortally hate him, that flying from her, he was in a manner forc'd to return to *Sparta*, where his Predecessor dying without Issue, he took upon him the Government. *Lysander* not content with this, perswades also *Cleombrotus* to lay claim to the Kingdom : he was of the Royal Family, and Son-in-law to *Leonidas*, who fearing now the event of this Process, was fled to the Temple of *Juno*, call'd *Calcideos*, together with his Daughter, the Wife of *Cleombrotus*, for she in this occasion resolv'd to leave her Husband, and to follow her Father. *Leonidas* being again cited, and not appearing, they pronounc'd a Sentence

tence of Deposition against him, and made *Cleombrotus* King in his place.

Soon after this Revolution, *Lyfander* (his year expiring) went out of Office, and new *Ephori* were chosen of the contrary Faction, who immediately conspiring to restore *Leonidas*, cited *Lyfander* and *Mandroclidas* to answer, for having contrary to Law, cancell'd Debts, and design'd a new division of Lands. They seeing themselves in danger, had recourse to the two Kings, and represented to them, how necessary it was for their Interest and Safety resolutely to unite, thereby to prevent the Designs of the *Ephori*, and put a stop to their Encroachments. The Power of the *Ephori* (they said) was only grounded on the Dissention of Kings, the Law having in that Case made them a kind of Arbitrators; but when the two Kings were unanimous, none ought or durst resist their Authority. *Agis* and *Cleombrotus* thus perswaded, went together into the Senate-house, where raising the *Ephori* from their Seats, they plac'd others in their room, (of which *Agésilans* was one:) then arming a Company of young Men, and releasing many out of Prison, their Enemies began to be in great fear of their Lives; but there was no Blood spilt. *Agis* on the

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contrary having notice that *Agésilans* had order'd a Company of Souldiers to lye in wait for *Leonidas*, to kill him as he fled to *Tegea*, immediately sent some of his Followers to defend him, and to convoy him safely into that City.

Thus far all things proceeded prosperously, none daring to oppose; but by the sordid Avarice of one Man, these promising Beginnings were blasted. *Agésilans* (as we said) was much in Debt, yet had a fair Estate in Land, and tho' he gladly joyn'd in this Design to be quit of his Debts, he was not at all willing to part with his Land: therefore he perswaded *Agis*, that if both these things should be put in execution at the same time, so great and so sudden an Alteration might cause some dangerous Commotion; but if Debts were in the first place cancell'd, the rich Men would afterwards more easily be prevail'd with to part with their Land. *Lyfander* also was of the same opinion, being deceiv'd in like manner by the Craft of *Agésilans*: so that all Men were presently commanded to bring in their Bonds, (or Deeds of Obligation, by the *Lacedemonians* call'd *Claria*) which being laid together in a Heap, they set Fire to it. The Usurers and other Creditors come, one may easily imagine, be-

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held it with a heavy heart ; but *Agefilaus* told them scoffingly, His Eyes had never seen so bright and so glorious a Flame.

And now the People press'd earnestly for a division of Lands : the Kings also had order'd it shou'd be done ; but *Agefilaus* sometimes pretending one Difficulty, and sometimes another, delay'd the Execution, till an occasion happen'd to call *Agis* to the Wars. The *Acheans*, in virtue of a League defensive, sent to demand Succours, for they expected every day when the *Ætolians* wou'd attempt to enter *Peloponesus* by the Confines of *Megara* : they had made *Aratus* their General, and sent him with an Army to hinder this Incurfion. *Aratus* writ to the *Ephori*, who immediately gave order *Agis* shou'd hasten to their Assistance with the *Lacedemonian* Auxiliaries. *Agis* was extreamly well pleas'd to see the forwardness of the young Men to this Expedition ; for tho' they were very poor, yet freed from Debts, and in hope of being Masters of Land at their Return, they follow'd chearfully, and in good Equipage. The Cities through which they pass'd, were in Admiration, to see how they march'd from one end of *Peloponesus* to the other, without the least Disorder, and in a manner without making any Noise : it gave them

them occasion to discourse with one another, how great might be the Temperance and Modesty of the ancient *Lacedemonians*, under their famous Captains *Agefilaus*, *Lyfander* and *Leonidas*, since they saw such Discipline and exact Obedience under a King, who perhaps was the youngest Man in all the Army. They saw also how he was content to fare hardly, ready to undergo any Labours, and not to be distinguish'd by Pomp or richness of Habit, from the meanest of his Souldiers. But if by this Moderation and Conduct he gain'd the Love of the Souldiers and the common People, it made him still more odious to the Rich and Powerful, who were afraid such an Example might work an Impression to their prejudice, in all the neighbouring Countreys.

*Agis* having joyn'd *Aratus* near the City of *Corinth*, a Councel of War was call'd, to debate whether or no it were expedient to give the Enemy Battel. *Agis* on this occasion shew'd a great Forwardness and Resolution, yet without Obstinacy or Presumption : he declar'd it was his opinion they ought to fight, thereby to hinder the Enemy from entring *Peloponesus* ; but nevertheless he wou'd submit to the Judgment of *Aratus*, not only

as the elder and more experienc'd Captain, but as he was General of the *Achaans*, whose Forces he wou'd not pretend to command, but was only come thither to assist them. I am not ignorant, that *Baton* of *Synope* relates it in another manner: He says, *Aratus* wou'd have fought, and that *Agis* was against it; but 'tis most certain he was mistaken, not having read what *Aratus* himself writes in his own Justification; for he expressly tells us, That knowing the People had well-nigh got in their Harvest, he thought it much better to let the Enemy pass, than to hazard by a Battel the loss of the whole Countrey: And therefore giving thanks to the Confederates for their readiness, he dismiss'd them. Thus *Agis*, not without having gain'd a great deal of Honour, return'd to *Sparta*, where he found the People in a Mutiny, and all things in Confusion, occasion'd by the Avarice and ill-Government of *Agessilaus*.

For he being now one of the *Ephori*, and by that Authority freed from the Fear which formerly kept him in some Restraint, forbore no kind of Oppression which might bring in Gain: Among other things he exacted a thirteenth Months Tax, whereas before they had

never paid more than twelve. For these and other Reasons fearing his Enemies, and knowing how he was hated by the People, he thought it necessary to maintain a Guard, which always accompanied him to the Courts of Justice; and presuming now on his Power, he was grown so insolent, that of the two Kings, the one he openly contemn'd; and if he shew'd any Respect towards *Agis*, wou'd have it thought rather an effect of his near Relation, than any duty or submission to the Royal Authority; and being desirous all men shou'd be confirm'd in a belief of his Power, he gave it out he was to continue *Ephore* the ensuing year also.

His Enemies alarm'd by this Report, immediately conspir'd against him, and bringing back *Leonidas* from *Tegea*, re-establish'd him in the Kingdom, to which the People (highly incens'd for having been defrauded in the promis'd division of Lands) easily consented. *Agessilaus* himself wou'd hardly have escap'd their Fury, if his Son *Hypomedon* had not mediated in his behalf, and then privately convey'd him out of the City.

During this Combustion, the two Kings fled; *Agis* to the Temple of *Juno*, and *Cleombrotus* to that of *Neptune*. *Leo-*

*nidas* more incens'd against his Son-in-law, left *Agis*, to pursue him with a Company of Souldiers; and being taken, he was brought before *Leonidas*, who with great vehemence reproach'd to him his Ingratitude; how being his Son-in-law, he had conspir'd with his Enemies, usurp'd his Kingdom, and banish'd him from his Countrey: *Cleombrotus* having little to say for himself, stood silent. His Wife *Chelonis* had been a Partner with *Leonidas* in his Sufferings; for when *Cleombrotus* usurp'd the Kingdom, she forsook him, and wholly applied her self to comfort her Father in his Affliction: she often mediated in his behalf, and openly disown'd and condemn'd the Action as unjust; but now upon this Turn of Fortune, she was as zealous and as assiduous in expressions of Love and Duty to her Husband, whom she embrac'd with one Arm, and her two little Children with the other. All men were strangely taken with the Piety and tender Affection of the young Woman, who in a loose neglected Mourning, with a pale dejected Countenance, and in a suppliant Posture, spoke thus to *Leonidas*.

*I am not brought to this Condition you see me in, nor have taken upon me this mourning Habit, by reason of the present Misfor-*  
tunes

*tunes of Cleombrotus; 'tis long since familiar to me: it was put on to condole with you in your Banishment; and now you are restor'd to your Countrey and to your Kingdom, must I still remain in Grief and Misery? or would you have me attir'd in my festival Ornaments, that I may rejoyce with you, when you have kill'd within my arms, the Man to whom you gave me for a Wife? Either Cleombrotus must appease you by my Tears, or he must suffer a Punishment greater than his Faults have deserv'd: he shall infallibly see me die before him, whom he has profess'd tenderly to love: to what end shou'd I live, or how shall I appear among the Spartan Ladies, when it shall so manifestly be seen, that I have not been able to move to Compassion neither a Husband nor a Father? I am only born to be an unfortunate Wife, and a more unfortunate Daughter, not having the least Power or Interest, where I ought to have been in the greatest Esteem. As for Cleombrotus, I have sufficiently disown'd his Cause, when I forsook him to follow you; but now you your self will justify his Proceedings, by shewing to the World, how Ambition is a Passion not to be resisted: for a Kingdom, a Man may kill a Son-in-law, nay even destroy his own Children. Chelonis having ended this Lamentation, turn'd her weeping Eyes towards the Spectators, then gent-*

gently repos'd her Head in her Husband's Bosom.

*Leonidas* touch'd with Compassion, withdrew a while to advise with his Friends; then returning, condemn'd *Cleombrotus* to perpetual Banishment: *Chelonis*, he said, ought to stay with him, it not being just she shou'd forsake a Father, who had granted at her Intercession the Life of her Husband; but all he could say, wou'd not prevail. She rose up immediately, and taking one of her Children in her Arms, gave the other to her Husband; then having perform'd her Devotions at an Altar dedicated to *Juno*, she chearfully follow'd him into Banishment. To be short, so great was the Virtue and Generosity express'd by *Chelonis* on this occasion, that if *Cleombrotus* were not strangely blinded by Ambition, he wou'd choose to be banish'd with the enjoyment of so excellent a Woman, rather than without her to possess a Kingdom.

*Cleombrotus* thus remov'd, *Leonidas* thought fit also to displace the *Ephori*, and to choose others in their room; then he began to consider how he might entrap *Agis*. At first he endeavour'd by fair means to perswade, that he wou'd come and partake with him (as was his Right) in the Kingdom: the People, he

said,

said, wou'd easily pardon the Errors of a young Man, ambitious of Glory, and deceiv'd by the Craft of *Agésilas*. But finding *Agis* was suspicious, and not to be prevail'd with to quit his Sanctuary, he gave over that Design; yet what cou'd not then be effected by the Dissimulation of an Enemy, was soon after brought to pass by the Treachery of a Friend.

*Amphares*, *Demochares*, and *Archeésilas*, did often visit *Agis*, and he was so confident of their Fidelity, that after a while he was prevail'd with to accompany them to the Baths, which were not far distant, they constantly returning to see him safe again in the Temple. *Amphares* had borrow'd a great deal of Plate and rich Household-stuff of *Agésistrata*, and hop'd if he cou'd destroy her and the whole Family, he might peaceably enjoy those Goods. To so base an intent, he was ready to serve *Leonidas* in any treacherous way, and being one of the *Ephori*, did all he cou'd to incense the rest of his Colleagues against *Agis*. These men therefore finding that *Agis* wou'd never stir from his Sanctuary, but only when he went with them to the Bath, resolv'd to make use of that occasion: And one day in his return, they met and saluted him as formerly, discoursing pleasantly by the way, as fami-

mi-

miliar Friends use to do, till coming to the turning of a Street which led to the Prison, *Amphares* by virtue of his Office arrested *Agis*, and told him, He must go with him before the other *Ephori*, to answer for his Misdemeanors. At the same time *Demochares*, who was a tall strong man, threw his Cloak over his Head, and dragg'd him after by the Neck, whilst the others went behind to thrust him on; so that none of *Agis* his Friends being near to assist him, they easily got him into the Prison, where *Leonidas* was already arriv'd, with a Company of Souldiers, who strongly guarded all the Avenues: the *Ephori* were also there, with as many of the Senators as they knew to be true to their Party, being desirous to proceed with some resemblance of Justice. First they bad him give an Account, why he had gone about to alter the Government? To which *Agis* (only smiling at their Craft and Dissimulation) answer'd not a word: *Amphares* told him, It was more seasonable to weep, for now the time was come in which he shou'd be punish'd for his Presumption. Another of the *Ephori* seeming more favourable, (and offering as it were an occasion of Excuse) said, He was confident *Agis* had been seduc'd, and in a manner constrain'd to what

what he did, by *Lysander* and *Agessilaus*. But *Agis* answer'd, He had not been seduc'd or constrain'd by any man, nor had any other intent in what he did, but only to follow the Example of *Lycurgus*, and to govern conformably to his Laws. They ask'd him, Whether now at least he did not repent his Rashness? To which he reply'd, That tho' he saw unavoidable Death before his Eyes, yet he cou'd never repent of so just and so glorious a Design. They had not the patience to hear him any longer, but commanded the Serjeants to carry him into the Decade, (which was a Place in the Prison where they us'd to strangle Malefactors.) The Officers refus'd to obey, and the very mercenary Souldiers declin'd it, believing it an insolent and a wicked Act to lay violent hands on a King; which as soon as *Demochares* perceiv'd, threatening and reviling them for it, he himself thrust him into the Room.

By this time the News of *Agis* his Imprisonment having reach'd all Parts of the City, had occasion'd a great Concourſe of People with Lanthorns and Torches about the Prison-gates, and in the midst of them, the Mother and the Grandmother of *Agis*, crying out with a loud Voice, That their King ought to appear, and



and to be heard by the People, and should at least be proceeded with in the usual Forms of Justice. But this Clamour instead of preventing, hasten'd his Death, his Enemies fearing if the Tumult should increase, he might that very night be rescued out of their hands.

*Agis* being now at the point to die, perceiv'd one of the Serjeants bitterly bewailing his Misfortune: *Weep not Friend, (says he) for me, who die innocent, but rather grieve for those who are guilty of this wicked Act; my condition is much better than theirs.* As soon as he had spoken these words, not shewing the least sign of Fear, he patiently stretch'd out his Neck to the Executioner.

Immediately after *Agis* was dead, *Amphares* went out of the Prison-gate, where he found *Agessistrata*, who casting her self at his Feet, he gently rais'd her up, pretending still the same Friendship as formerly: he assur'd her, she need not fear any farther Violence should be offer'd against her Son; and that if she pleas'd, she might go in and see him: she begg'd her Mother might also have the favour to be admitted; and he reply'd, No body should hinder it. When they were enter'd, he commanded the Gate should again be lock'd, and the Grandmother to be

be first introduc'd: she was now grown very old, and had liv'd all her days with great reputation of Virtue and Wisdom. As soon as *Amphares* thought she was dispatch'd, he told *Agessistrata*, She might now go in if she pleas'd: she enter'd, where beholding her Son's Body stretch'd on the Ground, and her Mother hanging by the Neck, she stood at first astonish'd at so horrid a Spectacle; but after a while recollecting her Spirits, the first thing she did, was to assist the Souldiers in taking down the Body; then covering it decently, she laid it by her Son's, whom embracing, and kissing his Cheeks, *O my Son,* said she, *'tis thy too great Mercy and Goodness which has brought thee and us to this untimely End.* *Amphares*, who stood watching behind the Door, hearing this, rush'd in hastily, and with a furious Tone and Countenance said to her, *Since you approve so well of your Sons Actions, 'tis fit you should partake in his Reward.* She rising up to meet her Destiny, only utter'd these few words, *I pray the Gods that all this may redound to the good of Sparta.*

And now the three Bodies being expos'd to view, and the Fact divulg'd, no fear of Magistrates cou'd hinder the People from expressing a detestation of it, or from hating the chief Contrivers; and espe-

especially *Leonidas* and *Amphares*, they were not afraid openly to declare, that so wicked and barbarous an Act had never been committed in *Sparta*, since first the *Dorians* inhabited *Peloponessus*; the very Enemies in War, they said, were always cautious of spilling the Blood of a *Lacedemonian* King, insomuch that in any Encounter they would decline, and endeavour to avoid them, so great a Respect they bore to the Royal Majesty. I must needs say, 'tis very remarkable, that in so many Battels fought betwixt the *Lacedemonians* and the other *Grecians*, none but *Cleombrotus* was kill'd, being wounded with a Javelin, at the Battel of *Leuctres*, a little before the days of King *Philip* of *Macedon*. I am not ignorant, that the *Messenians* affirm, *Theopompus* was also slain by their *Aristomenes*; but the *Lacedemonians* deny it, and say, He was only wounded: Be it as it will, 'tis certain at least that *Agis* was the first King put to death by the *Ephori*, with a form and pretence of Justice, and only for having endeavour'd to reduce them to their original Institution, a Design well becoming the Courage of a noble *Spartan*.

Thus *Agis* had the Fortune to be ill treated by his Enemies, and worse by his Friends; for if he had reason to complain of *Leonidas*, whose Life he had sav'd, much more of *Amphares*, in whose Friendship he repos'd the highest Confidence: so unmercifully was he dealt with by others, who being himself of a most mild and generous Disposition; did deserve to be lov'd by all Mankind.

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THE

Thus

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T H E  
L I F E  
O F  
CLEOMENES

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Translated from the Greek  
by Mr. Creech, Fellow of  
*All-Souls Colledge in Ox-*  
*ford.*

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**T**Hus fell *Agis*. His Brother *Archidamus* was too quick for *Leonidas* and sav'd himself by a timely Retreat. But his Wife then newly brought

to Bed, the Tyrant forc'd her from her own House, and compell'd her to marry his Son *Cleomenes*, though at that time too young for a Wife; for he was unwilling that any one else should have her, she being Heiress to her Father *Gylippus's* great Estate; for Person, the finest Woman in all Greece, very good-natur'd, of an exemplary Life, and therefore, they say, she did all she could, that she might not be compell'd to this Match.

Being thus married to *Cleomenes*, she hated *Leonidas*, but to the Youth she shew'd her self a kind and obliging Wife. He, as soon as they came together, began to love her very much, and the constant Kindness that she still retain'd for the memory of *Agis*, wrought somewhat of Concern in the young Man for him, so that he would often enquire of her concerning what had pass'd, and attentively listen to the Story of *Agis's* Designs. Now *Cleomenes* had a generous and great Soul; he was as temperate and moderate in his Pleasures as *Agis*, but not so very cautious, circumspect and gentle: a spur of Passion always gall'd him, and his eagerness to pursue that which he thought good and just, was violent and heady: to make Men willing to obey, he conceiv'd to be the best

Discipline ; but likewise to break the stubborn, and force them to be better, was in his opinion commendable and brave. This Disposition made him dislike the management of the City : the Citizens lay dissolv'd in supine Idleness and Pleasures ; the King minded nothing, designing, if no body gave him any disturbance, to waste his Time in Ease and Riot ; the Publick was neglected, and each Man intent upon his private Gain. 'Twas dangerous, now *Agis* was kill'd, to mention the exercising and training of their Youth, and to set up for the ancient Bravery and Equality, was Treason against the State. 'Tis said also that *Cleomenes*, whilst a Boy, studied Philosophy under *Sphaerus* the *Borysthenite*, who coming to *Sparta*, was very diligent in instructing the Youth : *Sphaerus* was one of the chief of *Zeno* the *Citician's* Scholars, and 'tis likely that he admir'd the manly Temper of *Cleomenes*, and inflam'd his generous Ambition. The ancient *Leonidas* ( as Story saith ) being ask'd, What manner of Poet he thought *Tyrtæus* ? reply'd, An excellent one to whet the Courages of Youth, for being fill'd with Fury by his Poems, they daringly ventur'd on any Danger : now the *Stoick* Philosophy is a dangerous Incentive to

hot and fiery Dispositions, but being mixt with a grave and cautious Temper, is very good to fix and settle the Resolutions.

Upon the Death of his Father *Leonidas*, he succeeded, and observing the Citizens of all sorts to be debauch'd, the Rich neglecting the Publick, and intent on their own Gain and Pleasure, and the Poor being cramp't in their private Fortunes, grown unactive, Cowards, and not inclinable to the *Spartan* Institution and way of Breeding, that he had only the Name of King, and the *Ephori* all the Power, was resolv'd to change the present posture of Affairs. He had a Friend whose Name was *Xenares*, his Lover, ( such an Affection the *Spartans* express by the word, *Εμπνεῖσθαι* ) him he founded, and of him he would commonly enquire, What manner of King *Agis* was ; by what means, and by what Assistance he began and pursu'd his Designs. *Xenares* at first willingly comply'd with his Request, and told him the whole Story, with all the particular Circumstances of the Actions. But when he observ'd *Cleomenes* to be extreemly affected at the Relation, and more than ordinarily mov'd at *Agis's* new model of the Government, and begging a repetition

of the Story, he at first severely chid him, told him, He was frantick, and at last left off all sort of Familiarity and Conversation with him, yet he never told any Man the cause of their Disagreement, but would only say, *Cleomenes* knew very well. *Cleomenes* finding *Xenares* averse to his Designs, and thinking all others to be of the same opinion, consulted with none, but contriv'd the whole Business by himself. And considering that it would be easier to bring about an Alteration when the City was at War, than when in Peace, he engag'd the Commonwealth in a Quarrel with the *Acheans*, who had given them fair occasions to complain: for *Aratus*, a Man of the greatest Power amongst all the *Acheans*, design'd from the very beginning to bring all the *Peloponnesians* into one common Body. And to effect this, he undertook many Expeditions, and ran through a long course of Policy; for he thought this the only means to make them an equal Match for their foreign Enemies: All the rest agreed to his Proposals, only the *Lacedemonians*, the *Elleans*, and as many of the *Arcadians* as inclin'd to the *Spartan* Interest, refus'd. Therefore as soon as *Leonidas* was dead, he fell upon the *Arcadians*, and wasted those

those especially that border'd on *Achaia*; by this means designing to try the Inclinations of the *Spartans*, and despising *Cleomenes* as a Youth, and of no Experience in Affairs of State or War. Upon this the *Ephori* sent *Cleomenes* to surprise the *Athenaeum* (dedicated to *Minerva*) near *Belbina*, which is a Pass of *Laconia*, and was then under the Jurisdiction of the *Megalopolitans*: *Cleomenes* possess himself of the place, and fortified it; at which Action *Aratus* shew'd no publick Resentment, but marcht by night to surprise *Tegea* and *Orchomenium*. The Design fail'd; for those that were to betray the Cities into his Hands, doubred the Success; so *Aratus* retreated, imagining that his Design had been undiscovered: But *Cleomenes* wrot a jeering Letter to him, and desired to know, as from a Friend, whither he intended to march at night? And *Aratus* answering, That having understood his Design to fortifie *Belbina*, he resolv'd to march thither to oppose him. *Cleomenes* return'd, That he believed it, but desir'd him to give him an account, if it stood with his Convenience, why he carry'd those Torches and Ladders with him.

*Aratus* laughing at the Jeer, and asking what manner of Youth this was;

*Democritus a Spartan Exile* reply'd, *If you have any Designs upon the Lacedemonians, begin before this young Eagle's Talons are grown.* Presently after this, *Cleomenes* being in *Arcadia* with a few Horse, and 300 Foot, the *Ephori* fearing to engage in the War, commanded him home, but upon his Retreat, *Aratus* taking *Caphus*, they commission'd him again. In this Expedition he took *Methudrium*, and spoiled the Country of the *Argives* and the *Achaians*: to stop his Victory, and secure their Friends, sent 20000 Foot and 1000 Horse against him, under the Command of *Aristomachus*. *Cleomenes* fac'd them at *Palantium*, and offer'd Battle: But *Aratus* being dash'd at his Bravery, would not suffer the General to engage, but retreated, being curst by the *Achæans*, and hooted at, and scorn'd by the *Spartans*, who were not above 5000, for a Coward. *Cleomenes* encouraged by this Success, began to vaunt among the Citizens a Sentence of one of their ancient Kings, who said, *The Spartans seldom enquired how many their Enemies were, but where they were.* After this, marching to the Assistance of the *Eleans*, upon whom the *Achaians* warr'd, and about *Lycæum* falling upon the Enemy in their Retreat, he routed their whole Army,

my, taking a great number of Captives, and leaving many dead upon the Place; so that it was commonly reported amongst the Greeks that *Aratus* was slain. But *Aratus* making the best Advantage of the Opportunity, presently after the Defeat, march'd to *Mantineæ*, and before any body suspected it, took the City, and put a new Garrison into it. Upon this the *Lacedemonians* being quite discouraged, and opposing *Cleomenes's* Design of carrying on the War, he was eager to send for *Archidamus*, *Agis's* Brother from *Mefena*, for he of the other Family had a Right to the Kingdom; and beside, *Cleomenes* thought that the Power of the *Ephori* would be abated when the Kingly State was fill'd up, and equally poised between the two Families. But those that were concern'd in the Murder of *Agis* understanding the Design, and fearing that upon *Archidamus's* Return they should be call'd to an Account, receiv'd him coming privately into Town, waited on him, and presently after murder'd him; but whether *Cleomes* was against it (as *Phylarchus* imagines) or whether he was perswaded by his Friends, and winck't at the Contrivance, is uncertain; however, they were most blam'd, as having forc'd his Consent. But he still re-

resolving to new-model the State, brib'd the *Ephori* to make him General: and won the Affections of many others by means of his Mother *Cratesiclea*, who spared no Cost, and was very zealous to promote the same Interest; and though of her self she had no Inclination to marry, yet for her Sons sake she wedded one of the chiefest Citizens for Wealth and Power. *Cleomenes* marching forth with the Army now under his Command, took *Leuctra*, a place belonging to *Megalopolis*; and the *Acheans* quickly facing him with a good body of Men commanded by *Aratus* in a Battle under the very Walls of the City, some part of his Army was routed. But *Aratus* commanding the *Acheans* not to pass a deep Hollow, and stopping the Pursuit, *Lydiadis* the *Megalopolitan* fretting at the Orders, encouraging the Horse which he led, and pursuing the routed Enemy, fell into a place full of Vines, Hedges and Ditches; and being forc'd to break his Ranks, was put into a great Disorder. *Cleomenes* observing the Advantage, commanded the *Tarentines* and *Cretans* to engage him, by whom, after a brave Dispute he was routed and slain. The *Lacedemonians* thus encouraged with a great shout fell upon the *Acheans* and routed their whole Army.

my. Of the slain, which were very many, some *Cleomenes* delivered upon Articles, but the Body of *Lydiadas* he commanded to be brought to him; and then putting on it a purple Robe, and a Crown upon its Head, sent a Convoy with it to the Gates of *Megalopolis*. This *Lydiadas* was the Man that resign'd his Crown, restor'd Liberty to the Citizens, and joyn'd the City to the *Achean* Interest. *Cleomenes* being very much rais'd by this Success; and perswaded, that if matters were wholly at his Disposal, he should quickly be too hard for the *Acheans*. He taught *Megistones* his Mother's Husband, That 'twas expedient for the State to shake of the Power of the *Ephori*, and to put all their Wealth into one common Stock for the whole Body; That *Sparta* being restor'd to its old Equality, might be rais'd up to be Mistress of all Greece. *Megistones* liked the Design, and engag'd two or three more of his Friends. About that time one of the *Ephori* sleeping in *Pasiphae's* Temple, dream'd a very surprizing Dream; for he thought he saw the four Chairs removed out of the place where the *Ephori* used to sit and hear Causes, and one only set there; and whilst he wondred, he heard a Voice out of the Temple, saying,

ing, *This is best for Sparta.* The Person telling *Cleomenes* this Dream, he was a little troubled at first, fearing that he us'd this as a Trick to sift him, upon some Suspicion of his Design; but when he was satisfied that the Relator spoke truth, he took heart again; and taking with him those whom he thought would be against his model, he took *Eraa* and *Alcæa*, two Cities of the *Acheans*, furnish'd *Orchomenium* with Provisions, besieg'd *Mantineæ*; and with long marches so harass'd the *Lacedemonians*, that many of them desir'd to be left in *Arcadia*; and he satisfy'd their Request. With the Mercenaries he march'd to *Sparta*, and by the way communicated his Design to those whom he thought fittest for his Purpose, and march'd slowly that he might catch the *Ephori* at Supper. When he was come near the City, he sent *Eurycleidas* to the *Suffitium*, the eating-place of the *Ephori*, under pretence of carrying some Message from him from the Army; *Threicion*, *Phæbis*, and two of those which were bred with *Cleomenes*, which they call *Samothracæ*, follow'd with a few Souldiers: And whilst *Eurycleidas* was delivering his Message to the *Ephori*, they ran upon them with their drawn Swords, and slew them. *Agefilaus* as

soon

soon as he was run through, fell, and lay as dead; but in a little time he rose, silently convey'd himself out of the Room, and crept undiscover'd into a little House, which was the Temple of *Fear*, and which always us'd to be shut, but was then by chance open; being got in, he shut the Door, and lay close: the other four were kill'd, and above ten more that came to their Assistance; to those that were quiet, they did no harm, stopt none that fled the City, and spar'd *Agefilaus*, who came out of the Temple the next day. The *Lacedemonians* have not only Temples dedicated to *Fear*, but also to *Death*, *Laughter*, and the like Passions: now they worship *Fear*, not as they do those Deities which they dread, esteeming it hurtful, but thinking their Polity is chiefly kept up by Law; and therefore the *Ephori* (*Aristotle* is my Author) when they enter upon their Government, make Proclamation to the People, That they should shave their Whiskers, and be obedient to the Laws, that they might not be forc'd to be severe, using this trivial Particular (in my opinion) to accustom their Youth to Obedience even in the smallest Matters. And the Ancients, I think, did not imagine Fortitude to be plain Fearlessness, but a cautious Fear of

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Infamy and Disgrace : for those that show most Fear towards the Laws, are most bold against their Enemies ; and those are least afraid of any Danger, who are most afraid of a just Reproach. Therefore he said well :

*A Reverence still attends on Fear.*

And Homer,

*Fear'd you shall be dear Uncle, and rever'd.*

And again,

*In silence fearing those that bore the sway.*

For 'tis very commonly seen, that Men reverence those whom they fear ; and therefore the *Lacedaemonians* plac'd the Temple of Fear by the *Suffitium* of the *Ephori*, having rais'd their Power to almost absolute Monarchy.

The next day *Cleomenes* proscrib'd 80 of the Citizens, whom he thought necessary to banish, and remov'd all the Seats of the *Ephori* except one, in which he himself design'd to sit, and hear Causes ; and calling the Citizens together, he made an Apology for his Proceedings, saying, That by *Lycurgus* the Senate was

joyn'd

joyn'd to the Kings, and that that model of Government had continued a long time, and needed no other sort of Magistrates to give it perfection. But afterward in the long War with the *Messeni-ans*, when the Kings being to command the Army, had no time to attend civil Causes, they chose some of their Friends, and left them to determine the Suits of the Citizens in their stead. These were call'd *Ephori*, and at first behav'd themselves as Servants to the Kings, but afterward by degrees they appropriated the Power to themselves, and erected a distinct sort of Magistracy. An evidence of the Truth of this may be taken from the usual Behaviour of the Kings, who upon the first and second Message of the *Ephori*, refuse to go, but upon the third readily attend them : And *Asteropus*, the first that rais'd the *Ephori* to that height of Power, liv'd a great many years after their Institution ; therefore whilst they modestly contain'd themselves within their own proper Sphere, 'twas better to bear with them than to make a disturbance. But that an upstart introduc'd Power should so far destroy the old model of Government, as to banish some Kings, murder others without hearing their defence, and threaten those who desir'd to see

see the best and most divine Constitution restor'd in *Sparta*, was unsufferable. Therefore if it had been possible for him without Bloodshed, to have freed *Lacedæmon* from those foreign Plagues, Luxury, Vanity, Debts and Usury, and from those more ancient Evils, Poverty and Riches, he should have thought himself the happiest King in the World, having like an expert Physician cur'd the Diseases of his Countrey without pain. But now in this necessity *Lycurgus's* Example favour'd his Proceedings, who being neither King, nor Magistrate, but a private Man, and aiming at the Kingdom, came arm'd into the Market-place, and for fear of the King *Carileus*, fled to the Altar: but he being a good Man, and a lover of his Countrey, readily consented to *Lycurgus's* Project, and admitted an Alteration in the State. Thus by his own Actions *Lycurgus* show'd, That it was difficult to correct the Government without Force and Fear, in using which, he said, he would be so moderate, as never to desire their Assistance, but either to terrifie or ruine the Enemies of *Sparta's* Happiness and Safety. He commanded that all the Land should be left in common, and private Claims laid aside: That Debtors should be discharged of their

their Debts, and a strict search made, who were Foreigners, and who not: That the true *Spartans*, recovering their Courage, might defend the City by their Arms, and that we may no longer see *Laconia*, for want of a sufficient number to secure it, wasted by the *Aetolians* and *Illyrians*. Then he himself first, with his Father-in-law *Megistones* and his Friends, brought all their Wealth into one publick Stock, and all the other Citizens follow'd the example: the Land was divided, and every one that he had banish'd, had a share assign'd him; for he promis'd to restore all, as soon as things were settled and in quiet; and compleating the common number of Citizens, out of the best and most agreeable of the neighbouring Inhabitants, he rais'd a Body of 4000 Men, and instead of a Spear, taught them to use a *Sarissa*, (a long Pike) with both hands, and to carry their Shields by a String fastned round their Arms, and not by a Handle, as before. After this he began to consult about the exercising and breeding of the Youth, (many Particulars of which, *Phærus* being then at *Sparta*, directed) and in a short time the Schools of Exercise, and their *Syssitia*, (common eating places) recover'd their ancient Decency

and Order, a few out of necessity, but the most voluntarily applying themselves to that generous and *Laconick* way of Living: besides, that the Name of Monarch might give them no jealousy, he made *Euclidas*, his Brother, Partner in the Throne; and that was the only time that *Sparta* had two Kings of the same Family. Then understanding that the *Acheans* and *Aratus* imagin'd that this Change had disturb'd and shaken his Affairs, and that he would not venture out of *Sparta*, and leave the City now unsettled by so great an Alteration, he thought it great and serviceable to his Designs, to convince his Enemies that he was eagerly desirous of a War: And therefore making an Incurfion into the Territories of *Megalopolis*, he wasted the Countrey very much, and got a considerable Booty. And at last taking those that us'd to act in the publick Solemnities travelling from *Messena*, and building a Theater in the Enemies Countrey, and setting a Prize of 40 *l.* value, he sat Spectator a whole day; not that he either desir'd or needed such a Divertisement, but as it were insulting o're his Enemies, and that by thus manifestly despising them, he might show that he had more than conquer'd the *Acheans*: for that alone of all the

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Greek or Kings Armies had no Stage-players, no Juglers, no dancing or singing Women attending it, but was free from all sorts of Looseness, Wantonness and Foppery; the young Men being for the most part upon Duty, and the old Men teaching them at leisure-time to apply themselves to their usual Drollery, and to rally one another facetiously after the *Laconick* fashion; the Advantages of which I have discover'd in the Life of *Lycurgus*. He himself instructed all by his Example: he was a living Pattern of Temperance before every bodies eyes, and his course of Living was neither more stately nor more expensive than any of the Commons. And this was a considerable Advantage to him in his Designs on *Greece*; for Men when they waited upon other Kings, did not so much admire their Wealth, costly Furniture, and numerous Attendance, as they hated their Pride and State, their difficulty of Access, and scornful commanding Answers to their Petitions. But when they came to *Cleomenes*, who was both really a King, and bore that Title, and saw no Purple, no Robes of State upon him, no Chairs and Couches about him for his ease, and that he did not receive Petitions, and return Answers after a long de-

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lay, by a number of Messengers, Waiters, or by Bills, but that he rose and came forward to meet those that came to wait upon him, staid, talk'd freely and graciously with all that had Business, they were extremely taken, won to his Service, and profess'd that he alone was the true Son of *Hercules*. His common every days Meal was in a mean Room, very sparing, and after the *Laconick* manner; and when he entertain'd Ambassadors or Strangers, two more Beds were added, and a little better Dinner provided by his Servants; but no Fricacies, no Dainties, only the Dishes were larger, and the Wine more plentiful; for he reprov'd one of his Friends for entertaining some Strangers with nothing but Pulse and black Broth, such Diet as they usually had in their *Phiditia*, saying, That upon such occasions, and when they treat Strangers, 'twas not requisite to be too exact *Laconians*. After Supper, a Stand was brought in with a brass Vessel full of Wine, two silver Pots, which held almost a Quart a piece, a few silver Cups of which he that pleas'd might drink, but no Liquor was forc'd on any of the Guests. There was no Musick, nor was any requir'd; for he entertain'd the Company, sometimes asking Questions, sometimes telling Stories: And his Discourse was neither too grave, and unpleasantly serious, nor vain and abusive, but merrily facetious; for he thought those ways of catching Men by Gifts and Presents, which other Kings use, to be mean and artificial; and it seem'd to him to be the most glorious method, and most suitable to a King, to win the Affections of those that came near him, by pleasant Discourse, and unaffected Conversation: for a Friend and Mercenary differ only in this, that the one is made by Conversation and agreeableness of Humour, and the other by Reward. The *Mantineans* were the first that oblig'd him; for getting by night into the City, and driving out the *Achean* Garrison, they put themselves under his Protection: he restor'd them their Polity and Laws, and the same day march'd to *Tegea*; and a little while after fetching a Compass through *Arcadia*, he made a Descent upon *Phere* in *Achaia*, intending to force *Aratus* to a Battel, or bring him into Disrepute, for refusing to engage, and suffering him to waste the Countrey: *Hyperbatas* at that time commanded the Army, but *Aratus* had all the Power amongst the *Acheans*. The *Acheans* marching forth with their whole Strength, and incamping in *Du-*

*mææ*, about *Hecatombæum*, *Cleomenes* came up, and thinking it not advisable to pitch between *Dumææ*, a City of the Enemies, and the Camp of the *Acheans*, he boldly dar'd the *Acheans*, and forc'd them to a Battel, and routing the *Phalanx*, slew a great many in the Fight, and took many Prisoners; thence marching to *Lagon*, and driving out the *Achean* Garrison, he restor'd the City to the *Elans*. The Affairs of the *Acheans* being in this desperate condition, *Aratus*, who was wont to continue in his Government above a year, refus'd the Command, though they entreated and urg'd him to accept it; and this was ill done, when the Storm was high, to put the Power out of his own hands, and set another to the Helm. *Cleomenes* at first propos'd fair and easie Conditions by his Ambassadors to the *Acheans*; but afterward he sent others, and requir'd the chief Command to be settled upon him; and in other Matters he promis'd to agree to reasonable terms, and to restore their Captives and their Countrey. The *Acheans* were willing to come to an Agreement upon those terms, and invited *Cleomenes* to *Lerna*, where an Assembly was to be held; but it hapned that *Cleomenes* hastily marching on, and unreasonably drink-

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ing Water, brought up abundance of Blood, and lost his Voice: therefore being unable to continue his March, he sent the chiefest of the Captives to the *Acheans*, and putting off the Meeting for some time, retir'd to *Lacedemon*. This ruin'd the Affairs of *Greece*, which was just then ready to recover it self out of its Disasters, and avoid the insulting and Covetousness of the *Macedonians*: for *Aratus*, whether fearing or distrusting *Cleomenes*, or envying his unlook'd-for Success, or thinking it a disgrace for him who had commanded 33 years, to have a young Man succeed to all his Glory and his Power, and be Head of that Government which he had been raising and settling so many years; he first endeavour'd to keep the *Acheans* from closing with *Cleomenes*; but when they would not hearken to him, fearing *Cleomenes's* daring Spirit, and thinking the *Lacedemonian's* Proposals to be very reasonable, who design'd only to reduce *Peloponn-sus* to its old Model, he took his last Refuge, in an Action which was unbecoming any of the *Greeks*, most dishonourable to him, and most unworthy his former Bravery and Exploits: for he call'd *Antigonus* into *Greece*, and fill'd *Peloponn-sus* with *Macedonians*, whom he himself, when a

Youth, having beaten their Garrison out of the Castle of *Corinth*, had driven from the same Countrey; beside he declar'd himself an Enemy to all Kings, and hath left many dishonourable Stories of this same *Antigonus*, in those Commentaries which he wrote. And though he declares, that he suffer'd considerable Losses, and underwent great Dangers, that he might free *Athens* from the Power of the *Macedonians*, yet afterward he brought the very same Men arm'd into his own Countrey, and his own House, even to the Womens Apartment. He would not endure, that one of the Family of *Hercules*, and King of *Sparta*, and one that had reform'd the Polity of his Countrey, as it were a disorder'd Harmony, and tun'd it to the plain *Dorick* measure of *Lycurgus*, to be styl'd, Head of the *Tricæans* and *Sicyonians*; and whilst he fled the Pulse and short Coat, and, which were his chief Accusations against *Cleomenes*, the extirpation of Wealth, and reformation of Poverty, he basely subjected himself, together with *Achea*, to the Diadem and Purple, to the imperious Commands of the *Macedonians*, and their *Satrape*. That he might not seem to be under *Cleomenes*, he sacrific'd the *Antigoneia*, (Sacrifices in Honour of *Antigonus*) and

and sung *Pæans* himself with a Garland on his Head, to the Honour of a rotten, consumptive *Macedonian*.

I write this not out of any Design to disgrace *Aratus* (for in many things he shew'd himself vigorous for the *Grecian* Interest, and a great Man) but out of pity to the weakness of Humane Nature, which, in such a Person so excellent, and so many ways dispos'd to Vertue, cannot attain to a State irreprehensible. The *Acheans* meeting again at *Argos*, and *Cleomenes* descending from *Tegæa*, there were great hopes that all Differences would be compos'd. But *Aratus*, *Antigonus*, and He having already agreed upon the chief Articles of their League, fearing that *Cleomenes* would carry all before him, and either win, or force the Multitude to comply with his Demands, propos'd, that, having three hundred Hostages put into his Hands, he should come alone into the Town, or bring his Army to the place of Exercise, call'd *Cillarabion*, without the City, and treat there.

*Cleomenes* hearing this, said, That he was unjustly dealt with; for they ought to have told him so plainly at first, and not now he was come even to their Doors, show their Jealousie, and deny him

him Admission : And writing an Epistle to the *Acheans* about the same Subject ; the greatest part of which was an Accusation of *Aratus* ; and *Aratus*, on the other side, ripping up his Faults to the Assembly, he hastily dislodg'd ; and sent a Trumpeter to denounce War against the *Acheans*, but not to *Argos*, but to *Aegium*, as *Aratus* delivers, that he might not give them notice enough to make Provision for their Defence. Upon this, the *Acheans* were mightily disturb'd, the common People expecting a Division of the Land, and a Release from their Debts ; and the chief Men being on many Accounts displeas'd with *Aratus*, and some angry and at odds with him, as the Occasion of the *Macedonians* descent on *Peloponnesus*. Encouraged by these Misunderstandings, *Cleomenes* invades *Achaë* ; and first took *Pellene* by surprise, and beat out the *Achean* Garrison ; and afterward brought over *Phenon* and *Penteleon* to his side. Now the *Acheans* suspecting some treacherous Designs at *Corinth* and *Sicyon*, sent their Horse and Mercenaries out of *Argos* to have an Eye upon those Cities, and they themselves went to *Argos* to celebrate the *Nemean* Games. *Cleomenes* advertis'd of this march, and hoping (as it afterward fell out) that upon

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upon an unexpected Advance to the City now busied in the Solemnity of the Games, and throng'd with numerous Spectators, he should raise a considerable Terror and Confusion amongst them ; by night he march'd with his Army to the Walls, and taking the quarter of the Town call'd *Aspis*, which lies above the Theater, a place well fortify'd, and hard to be approach'd, he so terrify'd them, that none offer'd to resist, but agreed to accept a Garrison, to give twenty Citizens for Hostages, and to assist the *Lacedemonians*, and that he should have the chief Command. This Action considerably encreas'd his Reputation, and his Power ; for the ancient *Spartan* Kings, though they many ways endeavour'd to effect it, could never bring *Argos* to be steadfastly and sincerely theirs. And *Pyrrhus* a most experienc'd Captain, and brave Souldier, though he entred the City by force, could not keep Possession, but was slain himself with a considerable part of his Army : Therefore they admir'd the Dispatch and Contrivance of *Cleomenes* ; and those that before derided him for saying that he imitated *Solon* and *Lycurgus* in releasing the People from their Debts, and in equally dividing the Wealth of the Citizens, were now persuaded

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swaded that he was the cause of the desirable Alterations in the *Spartan* Commonwealth: For before they were very low in the World, and so unable to secure their own, that the *Ætolians* invading *Laconia*, brought away fifty thousand Slaves; (so that one of the elder *Spartans* is reported to have said, That they had done *Laconia* a kindness by unburdening it) and yet a little while after applying themselves to their own Customs, and ancient Institution, they gave notable Instances of Courage and Obedience, as if they had been under the Eye of *Lycurgus* himself; and quickly rais'd *Sparta* to be Head of all *Greece*, and recover'd *Peloponnesus* to themselves. Whilst *Argos* was taken, and *Cleone* and *Phlius* sided with *Cleomenes*, *Aratus* was at *Corinth* searching after some, who were reported to favour the *Spartan* Interest. The News being brought to him, disturb'd him very much; for he perceiv'd the City inclining to *Cleomenes*, and the *Acheans* willing to be at ease; therefore he call'd all the Citizens into the common Hall, and, as it were, undesignedly retreating to the Gate, he mounted his Horse that stood ready there, and fled to *Sicyon*; and the *Corinthians* made such hast to *Cleomenes* at *Argos*, that (as *Ara-*

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tus says) striving who should be first there, they spoil'd all their Horses: And *Cleomenes* was very angry with the *Corinthians* for letting *Aratus* escape: And *Megistones* came from *Cleomenes* to him, desiring him to deliver up the Castle of *Corinth*, which was then garrison'd by the *Acheans*, and offer'd him a considerable Sum of Mony; and that he answered, That Matters were not now in his Power, but he in theirs. Thus *Aratus* himself writes. But *Cleomenes* marching from *Argos*, and taking in the *Træzenians*, *Epidaurians*, and *Hermioneans*, came to *Corinth*, and block'd up the Castle which the *Acheans* would not surrender; and sending for *Aratus's* Friends and Stewards, committed his House and Estate to their Care and Management; and sent *Tritymallus* the *Messenian* to him a second time, desiring that the Castle might be equally garrison'd by the *Spartans* and *Acheans*, and promising to *Aratus* himself double the Pension that he receiv'd from King *Ptolemy*: But *Aratus* refusing the Conditions, and sending his own Son with other Hostages to *Antigonus*, and perswading the *Acheans* to make a Decree for delivering the Castle into *Antigonus's* Hands, *Cleomenes* invaded the Territory of the *Sicyonians*, and by a Decree



Decree of the *Corinthians*, seiz'd on all *Aratus's* Estate. In the mean time *Antigonus*, with a great Army, pass'd *Gerania*, and *Cleomenes*, thinking it more adviseable to fortific and garrison, not the *Isthmus*, but the Mountains called *Onia*, and by a long Siege and Skirmishes to weary the *Macedonians*, than to venture a set Battle, put his Design in Execution, which very much distress'd *Antigonus*; for he had not brought Victuals sufficient for his Army; nor was it easie to force a way through whilst *Cleomenes* guarded the Pass. He attempted by night to pass through *Lechaum*, but fail'd, and lost some Men; so that *Cleomenes* and his Army were mightily encouraged, and so flusht with the Victory, that they went merrily to Supper; and *Antigonus* was very much dejected, being reduc'd to those miserable straits. At last he design'd to march to the Promontory *Heraum*, and thence transport his Army in Boats to *Sicyon*, which would take up a great deal of time, and be very chargeable. The same time about Evening some of *Aratus's* Friends came from *Argos* by Sea, and invited him to return, for the *Argives* would revolt from *Cleomenes*. *Aristotle* was the Man that wrought the Revolt, and he had no hard task to perswade the common

common People; for they were all angry with *Cleomenes* for not releasing them from their Debts as they expected. Upon this Advertisement *Aratus* with fifteen hundred of *Antigonus's* Souldiers sail'd to *Epidaurus*; but *Aristotle* not staying for his coming, drew out the Citizens, and fought against the Garrison of the Castle, and *Timoxenus* with the *Achaens* from *Sicyon*, came to his Assistance. *Cleomenes* heard the News about the second Watch of the Night, and sending for *Megistones* angrily commanded him to go and set things right at *Argos*. This *Megistones* was the Man who pass'd his word for the *Argives* Loyalty, and perswaded him not to banish the suspected. This *Megistones* he dispatch'd with two thousand Souldiers, and observ'd *Antigonus* himself, and encouraged the *Corinthians*, pretending that there was no great matter in the Stirs at *Argos*, but only a little Disturbance rais'd by a few inconsiderable Persons. But when *Megistones*, entring *Argos*, was slain, and the Garrison could scarce hold out, and frequent Messengers came to *Cleomenes* for Succours, he fearing lest the Enemy having taken *Argos*, should shut up the Passes, and securely waste *Laconia*, and besiege *Sparta* it self, which he had len without

Forces ; he dislodg'd from *Corinth*, and presently lost that City ; for *Antigonus* entred it, and garrison'd the Town. He turn'd aside from his direct March, and assaulting the Wall of *Argos*, endeavour'd to break in ; and having clear'd a way under the quarter called *Aspis*, he joyn'd the Garrison which still held out against the *Achæans* ; some parts of the City he scal'd, and took, and his *Cretan* Archers clear'd the Streets. But when he saw *Antigonus* with his *Phalanx* descending from the Mountains into the Plain, and the Horse on all sides entring the City, he thought it impossible to maintain his Post, and therefore with all his Men made a safe Retreat behind the Wall. Having in a short time rais'd himself to a considerable height, and in one March made himself Master of almost all *Peloponnesus*, and lost all again in as short a time : For some of his Allies presently forsook him, and others not long after put themselves under *Antigonus's* Protection. His Army thus defeated, as he was leading back the Relicks of his Forces, some from *Lacedæmon* met him in the Evening at *Tegea*, and brought him News of as great a Misfortune as that which he had lately suffer'd, and that was the Death of his Wife, whom he doted on so much, that when

when he was most prosperous, he would ever now and then make a step to *Sparta*, to visit his beloved *Ægiatis*.

This News afflicted him extremely, and he griev'd, as a young Man would do for the loss of a very beautiful and excellent Wife ; yet his Passion did not debase the greatness of his Mind, but keeping his usual Voice, his Countenance, and his Habit, he gave necessary Orders to his Captains, and took care to secure the *Tegeans*. The next day he retir'd to *Sparta*, and having at home with his Mother and Children bewail'd the loss, and finish'd his Mourning, he presently appear'd about the publick Affairs of the State. Now *Ptolemy*, the King of *Ægypt*, promis'd him Assistance, but demanded his Mother and Children for Hostages : this for some considerable time he was sham'd to discover to his Mother ; and though he often went to her on purpose, and was just upon the Discourse, yet still refrain'd, and kept it to himself : so that she began to suspect somewhat, and ask'd his Friends, Whether *Cleomenes* had somewhat to say to her, which he was afraid to speak ? At last *Cleomenes* venturing to tell her, she laugh'd heartily, and said, *Was this the thing that you had often*

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not you put me on Shipboard, and send this Carkass where it may be most serviceable to Sparta, before Age wastes it unprofitably here? Therefore all things being provided for the Voyage, they went to *Tenarus* on Foot, and the Army waited on them. *Cratesiclea*, when she was ready to go on Board, took *Cleomenes* aside into *Neptune's* Temple, and embracing him who was very much dejected, and extremely discompos'd, she said thus, Go to King of Sparta; when we are without door, let none see us weep, or show any Passion below the Honour and Dignity of Sparta; for that alone is in our own power: as for Success or Disappointments, these wait on us as the Decree. Having said thus, and compos'd her Countenance, she went to the Ship with her little Grandson, and bad the Pilot put presently out to Sea. When she came to *Egypt*, and understood that *Ptolemy* entertain'd Proposals and Overtures of Peace from *Antigonus*, and that *Cleomenes*, though the *Acheans* invited and urg'd him to an Agreement, was afraid, for her sake, to come to any, without *Ptolemy's* consent, she wrote to him, advising him to do that which was most becoming and most profitable for Sparta, and not for the sake of an old Woman and a little Child, always stand

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in fear of *Ptolemy*: this Character she maintain'd in her Misfortunes. *Antigonus* having taken *Tegea*, and plunder'd *Orchomenum* and *Mantineæ*, *Cleomenes* was shut up within the narrow Bounds of *Laconia*, and made such of the *Heilots* as could pay five *Attick* pounds, free of Sparta, and by that means got together 500 Talents; and arming 2000 after the *Macedonian* fashion, that he might make a Body fit to oppose *Antigonus's* *Leucaspidae* (white-Shields) he undertook a very considerable and very surprizing Enterprize. *Megalopolis* was at that time a City of it self, as big and as powerful as Sparta, and had the Forces of the *Acheans* and *Antigonus* incamping on its sides; and it was chiefly the *Megalopolitans* doing, that *Antigonus* was call'd in to assist the *Acheans*. *Cleomenes* having a design upon this City, (no Action was ever more sudden and more unexpected) order'd his Men to take five days Provision, and so march'd to *Sellasia*, as if he intended to spoyl the Countrey of the *Argives*; but from thence making a descent into the Territories of *Megalopolis*, and refreshing his Army about *Rhetium*, he march'd through *Helicon*, directly to the City. When he was not far off the Town, he sent *Pantens* with two Regi-

ments to surprize the *Misopyrgion*, (the Quarter between the two Towers) which he understood to be the most unguarded Quarter of the *Megalopolitans* Fortifications; and with the rest of his Forces he follow'd leisurely *Pantene*, not only surpriz'd that Place, but finding a great part of the Wall without Guards, he pull'd down some Places, and demolish'd others, and kill'd all the Defenders that he found. Whilst he was thus busied, *Cleomenes* came up to him, and was got with his Army within the City, before the *Megalopolitans* knew of the Surprise: At last as soon as it was discover'd, some left the Town immediately, taking with them what Money they had ready; some arm'd, and engag'd the Enemy; and though they were not able to beat them out, yet they gave their Citizens time and opportunity safely to retire: so that there were not above 1000 Persons left in the Town, all the rest flying with their Wives and Children, and escaping to *Messena*. A great number of those that arm'd and fought the Enemy, were sav'd, and very few taken, amongst whom were *Lyfandridas* and *Thearidas*, two Men of great Power and Reputation amongst the *Megalopolitans*; and therefore the Souldiers, as soon as they were taken,

taken, brought them to *Cleomenes*: And *Lyfandridas*, as soon as he saw *Cleomenes* afar off, cry'd out, *Now King of Sparta, 'tis in your power, by doing a most Kingly and braver Action than you have already perform'd, to purchase a considerable Glory.* And *Cleomenes* guessing at his meaning, reply'd, *What do you say Lyfandridas, sure you will not advise me to restore your City to you again? 'Tis that which I mean,* *Lyfandridas* reply'd, and I advise you not to ruine so brave a City, but to fill it with faithful and stedfast Friends and Allies, by restoring their Countrey to the *Megalopolitans*, and being the Saviour of so considerable a People. *Cleomenes* paus'd a while, and then said, *'Tis very hard to trust so far in these Matters; but with us let Profit always yield to Glory.* Having said this, he sent the two Men to *Messena* with a Trumpeter from himself, offering the *Megalopolitans* their City again, if they would forsake the *Achaean* Interest, and be on his side. Though *Cleomenes* made these kind and obliging Proposals, yet *Philopæmen* would not suffer them to break their League with the *Achaens*; and accusing *Cleomenes* to the People, as if his design was not to restore the City, but to take the Citizens too, he forc'd *Thearidas* and *Lyfandridas* to leave *Messena*.

This was that *Philopæmen* who was afterward Chief of the *Acheans*, and a Man of the greatest Reputation amongst the *Greeks*, as I have made it appear in his own Life. This News coming to *Cleomenes*, though he had before taken such strict care that the City should not be plunder'd, yet then being in a Fury, and put out of all patience, he rifled them of all their Coin, Plate and Jewels, and sent their Statues and Pictures unto *Sparta*; and demolishing a great part of the City, he march'd away, for fear of *Antigonus* and the *Acheans*: but they never stirr'd, for they were in *Ægium*, at a Council of War. There *Aratus* mounted the Desk, wept a long while, and held his Mantle before his Face; and at last the Company being amaz'd, and commanding him to speak, he said, *Megalopolis is ruin'd by Cleomenes*. The Assembly was presently dissolv'd, the *Acheans* being extremely surpriz'd at the suddenness and greatness of the loss; and *Antigonus* intending to send speedy Succours, when he found his Army to gather very slowly out of their Winter-quarters, he sent them Orders to continue there still; and he himself march'd to *Argos* with a considerable Body of Men. The second Enterprize of *Cleomenes* seem'd to be

he carry'd on by extream Boldness and unaccountable Madnes; but yet in *Polybius's* opinion, was done upon mature Deliberation and exact Fore-sight: for knowing very well that the *Macedonians* were dispers'd into their Winter-quarters, and that *Antigonus* with his Friends and a few Mercenaries about him winter'd in *Argos*; upon these Considerations he invaded the Countrey of the *Argives*, hoping to shame *Antigonus* to a Battel upon unequal terms, or else if he did not dare to fight, to bring him into Disrepute with the *Acheans*. And this accordingly hapned; for *Cleomenes* wasting, plundering and spoyling the whole Countrey, the *Argives* vex'd at the loss, ran in Troops to the Palace of the King, and clamour'd that he should either fight, or surrender his Command to better and braver Men. But *Antigonus*, as became an experienced Captain, accounting it dishonourable, foolishly to hazard his Army, and quit his Security, and not so to be abus'd and rail'd at by the Rabble, would not march out against *Cleomenes*, but stood fix'd to the Designs which he had laid: *Cleomenes* in the mean time brought his Army up to the very Walls, and having uncontrollably spoyld the Countrey, and insulted o're his Enemies, drew off again. A

little while after being advertis'd that *Antigonus* design'd for *Tegea*, and thence to make an Incurſion into *Laconia*, he haſtily march'd with his Army another way, and appear'd early in the morning before *Argos*, and waſted the Fields about it: the Corn he did not cut down with Reaping-hooks and Sythes, as Men uſually do, but beat it down with great Staves made like Scymetars, as if with a great deal of Contempt and wanton Scorn he ſpoyl'd the Fields, and waſted the Countrey in his March; yet when his Souldiers would have ſet *Cyllabaris*, the School of Exerciſe, on fire, he hinder'd the Attempt, reflecting upon ſerious conſideration, that the Outrages committed at *Megalopolis*, were the effects of his Paſſion rather than his Wiſdom. He pretended to make ſuch little account of, and ſo much to deſpiſe *Antigonus*, who firſt retir'd to *Argos*, and afterward plac'd Garrifons on all the Mountains round about, that he ſent a Trumpeter to deſire the Keys of the *Heraeum*, (*Juno's Temple*) that he might ſacrifice to the Goddeſs. Thus with a Scoff and bitter Reflection on *Antigonus*, and having ſacrific'd to the Goddeſs, under the Walls of the Temple, which was ſhut, he march'd to *Phlius*; and from thence driving out thoſe

thoſe that garriſon'd *Hologountum*, he march'd down to *Orchomenum*. And theſe Enterprizes not only encouraged the Citizens, but made him appear to the very Enemies to be an experienc'd Captain, and very worthy of Command: for with the Strength of one City, not only to fight the Power of the *Macedonians*, and all the *Peloponneſians*; not only to preſerve *Laconia* from being ſpoyl'd, but to waſte the Enemies Countrey, and to take ſo many and ſuch conſiderable Cities, is an Argument of no common Bravery. He that firſt ſaid, *That Money was the Sinews of Affairs*, ſeem'd chiefly in that Saying to reſpect War: And *Demades*, when the *Athenians* had voted that a Navy ſhould be made ready, but had no Money, ſaid, *They ſhould make Bread before they thought of Sayling*. And the old *Archidamus*, in the beginning of the *Peloponneſian War*, when the Allies deſir'd, that each Parties ſhare of Contributions for the War ſhould be determin'd, is reported to have ſaid, *War cannot be kept to a ſet Diet*: For as well breath'd Wreſtlers do in time weary and tire out the moſt active and moſt ſkilful Combatant; ſo *Antigonus* coming to the War with a great ſtock of Wealth, weary'd out *Cleomenes*, whoſe Poverty made it difficult for him either to provide

vide Pay for the Mercenaries, or Provisions for the Citizens. For in all other Respects the Time favour'd *Cleomenes*; for *Antigonus's* Affairs at home began to be disturb'd: for the *Barbarians* wasted and over ran *Macedonia* whilst he was absent; and at that time a vast Army of the *Illyrians* came down: to be freed from whose Outrages, the *Macedonians* sent for *Antigonus*, and the Letters had almost been brought to him before the Battel was fought; upon the receipt of which he presently dislodg'd, and left the *Achaean* Affairs to themselves. But Fortune, that loves to determine the greatest Affairs by a Minute, in this Conjunction show'd such an exact niceness of Time, that immediately after the Battel in *Salamis* was over, and *Cleomenes* had lost his Army and his City, the Messengers reach'd *Antigonus*. And this made *Cleomenes's* Misfortune more to be pitied; for if he had forbore fighting two days longer, there had been no need of hazarding a Battel, since upon the departure of the *Macedonians*, he might have had what Conditions he pleas'd from the *Achaean*. But now (as I hinted before) for want of Money, being necessitated to rely wholly on his Arms, he was forc'd with 20000 (this is *Polybius's* Account) to

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engage thirty thousand; and approving himself an excellent Commander in this Difficulty, his Citizens showing an extraordinary Courage, and his Mercenaries Bravery enough; he was overborn by the different way of fighting, and the weight of the arm'd *Phalanx*. Besides, *Phylarchus* affirms, that the Treachery of some about him was the chief Cause of *Cleomenes's* Ruine. For *Antigonus* gave Orders, that the *Illyrians* and *Achaeanians* should march round by a secret way, and encompass the other Wing which *Eucleidas*, *Cleomenes's* Brother, commanded; and then drew out the rest of his Forces to the Battel. And *Cleomenes*, from a convenient rising, viewing his Order, and not seeing any of the *Illyrians* and *Achaeanians*, began to suspect that *Antigonus* had sent them upon some such Design; and calling for *Damoteles*, who was to inspect, and to provide against Ambushes, commanded him carefully to look after, and discover the Enemies Designs upon his Rear.

But *Damoteles* (for some say *Antigonus* had brib'd him) telling him, that he should not be solicitous about that matter, for all was well enough, but mind, and fight those that met him in the front. He was satisfied, and advanc'd against

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*Antigonus* ; and by the vigorous Charge of his *Spartans* , made the *Macedonian Phalanx* give ground, and press'd upon them with great Advantage about half a mile ; but then making a stand, and seeing the danger which the surrounded Wing commanded by his Brother *Eucleidas* , was in, he cry'd out, *Thou art lost, dear Brother, thou art lost, thou brave Example to our Spartan Youth, and Theme of our Matron's Songs.*

*Eucleidas's* Wing being thus cut in Pieces , and the Conquerors from that part falling upon his Battle, he perceiv'd his Souldiers to be disorder'd, and unable to maintain the Fight, and therefore provided for his own safety. When he came into the City, he advis'd those Citizens that he met, to receive *Antigonus* ; and as for himself, he said, which should appear most advantageous to *Sparta* , whether his Life or Death, that he would chuse. Seeing the Women running out to those that fled with him, taking their Arms, and bringing Drink to them, he entred into his own House, and his Servant, which was a free-born Woman, taken from *Megalopolis* after his Wife's Death, offering, as she us'd to do, to make necessary Provision for him returning from the Battle ; though he was very

thirsty,

thirsty, he refus'd to drink, and though very weary, to sit down ; but arm'd as he was, he clapt his Arm side-way to a Pillar, and leaning his Forehead upon his Elbow, he rested his Body a little while, and ran over in his Thoughts what course he should take, and then with his Friends went presently to *Gythium* ; where finding Ships fitted for the Purpose, they embark'd. *Antigonus* taking the City, treated the *Lacedemonians* courteously, and neither affronting, nor ruining the Dignity of *Sparta* , but permitting them to enjoy their own Laws and Polity, and sacrificing to the Gods, dislodg'd the third day : for he heard that there was a great War kindled in *Macedonia* , and that the Country was spoil'd by the Barbarians ; besides, he grew sick of a Consumption and continual Defluxion on the Lungs, yet he still kept up that he might return and free his own Country, and fall more gloriously upon an heap of slaughter'd Barbarians. As *Phylarchus* says, and 'tis probable, he broke a Vein by shouting in the Battel. In the Plays 'twas said, that after the Victory he cry'd out for Joy, *O fine Day !* and presently bringing up abundance of Blood, fell into a Fever, and dy'd in a short time. And thus much concerning *Antigonus*.

*Cleo-*



Cleomenes sailing from Cythera, touch'd at another Island call'd *Ægyalia*, whence as he was about to depart for Cyrene, one of his Friends, *Therycion* by Name, a Man of an haughty Spirit in all Enterprises, and high and boasting in his talk, came privately to him, and said thus; Sir, Death in Battel, which is the most glorious, we have let go; though all heard us say that Antigonus should never tread over the King of Sparta, unless dead: And now that which is next in Bravery and Glory, is presented to us. Whither do we madly sail, flying that which is near, and seeking that which is far removed? For if it is not dishonourable for the Race of Hercules to serve the Successors of Philip and Alexander, we shall save a long Voyage by delivering our selves up to Antigonus, who, probably, surpasseth Ptolemy as much as the Macedonians do the Egyptians; but if we think it mean to submit to those whose Arms have conquer'd us, why should we chuse him for our Lord by whom we have not yet been beaten? Is it that instead of one, we might appear meaner than two, whilst we fly Antigonus, and flatter Ptolemy? Or, is it for your Mother's sake that you retreat to Egypt? It will indeed be a very fine, and very desirable sight for her to be shown her Son by Ptolemy's Women, now

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chang'd from a Prince into an Exile and a Slave. Are we not still Masters of our own Swords? And whilst we have Laconia in view, shall we not here free our selves from this disgraceful Misery, and clear our selves to those, who at Sellasia dy'd for the Honour and Defence of Sparta? Or, shall we sit lazily in Egypt enquiring what News from Sparta? and whom Antigonus hath been pleas'd to make Governour of Lacedemon? Thus spoke *Therycion*; and this was Cleomenes's Reply; By seeking Death, you coward, the most easie, and most ready Refuge, you fancy that you shall appear courageous and brave, though this Flight is baser than thy former. Better Men than we have given way to their Enemies, having been betray'd by Fortune, or oppress'd by Multitude; but he that sinks under Labour or Afflictions, the Opinions or Reproaches of Men, is overcome by his own Effeminacy and Softness: For a voluntary Death ought not to be chosen as a Relief from Action, but as an Exemplary Action it self; and 'tis base either to live or to die only to our selves. That Death to which you now invite us, is propos'd only as a Release from our present Miseries, but carries nothing of Bravery or Profit in it. And I think it becomes both me and you not to despair of our Country; but when there are no hopes of that left, these

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that have an Inclination may quickly die. To this *Therycion* return'd no Answer; but as soon as he could get out of *Cleomenes's* Company, went toward the Shore, and ran himself through. But *Cleomenes* fail'd from *Egialia*, landed in *Lybia*, and being honourably conducted through the King's Country, came to *Alexandria*. When he was first brought to *Ptolemy*, no more than common Civilities, and usual Ceremonies were paid him; but when, upon tryal, he found him a Man of deep Sense, and great Reason, and that his plain *Laconick* way of Conversation carried a free Pleasantness with it, that he did nothing unbecoming the greatness of his Birth, nor bent under Fortune, and appear'd a more faithful Counsellor, than those who made it their business to please and flatter; he was ashamed, and repented that he had neglected so great a Man, and suffer'd *Antigonus* to get so much Power and Reputation by ruining him. Therefore he heap'd up Honours and Kindnesses on *Cleomenes*, and gave him Hopes that he would furnish him with an Army and a Navy to recover *Greece*, and re-instate him in his Throne. Besides, he allow'd him a yearly Pension of four and twenty Talents; a little part of which Sum supplied

ply'd his and his Friends thrifty Temperance; and the rest was imploy'd in doing good Offices to, and in relieving the Necessities of those that fled *Greece*, and retir'd into *Egypt*.

But the elder *Ptolemy* dying before *Cleomenes's* Affairs had receiv'd a full Dispatch, and the Successor being a loose, voluptuous and effeminate Prince, under the power of his Pleasures and his Women, his Business was neglected: for the King was so besotted with his Women and his Wine, that Balls, Musick and Dancing, were the only Employments of his most busy and serious hours, and the greatest Affairs of State were managed by *Agathoclea* the King's Mistress, her Mother, and the Pimp *Oinantes*. Therefore at the first they seem'd to stand in need of *Cleomenes*; for *Ptolemy* being afraid of his Brother *Magas*, who by his Mother's means had a great Interest amongst the Souldiers, took *Cleomenes* into his Cabinet-Council, and acquainted him with the Design of taking off his Brother. He, though all were for it, declar'd his opinion to the contrary, saying, *The King, if it were possible, should have more Brothers for the better security and management of his Affairs*: And *Sotolius*, the greatest Favourite, replying,

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*That they were not secure of the Mercenaries whilst Magas was alive ; Cleomenes return'd, That he need not trouble himself about that Matter ; for amongst the Mercenaries there were above 3000 Peloponnesians, who were his fast Friends, and whom he could command at any time with a Nod.* This Discourse made *Cleomenes* for the present to be look'd upon as a Man of Integrity and Power ; but afterwards (*Ptolemy's* Weakness increasing his Fear, and, as it usually happens, where there is no Judgment and Wisdom at the bottom, placing his Security in Jealousie and Suspicion) rendred *Cleomenes* suspected to the Courtiers, as having too much Interest with the Mercenaries ; and many had this Saying in their mouths, *That he was a Lion midst a flock of Sheep* : for such he seem'd to be in the Court, slyly overlooking and taking notice of the management of Affairs ; therefore when he desir'd a Navy and an Army from the King, his Petition was rejected. But when he understood that *Antigonus* was dead, that the *Achaians* were engaged in a War with the *Ætolians*, and that the Affairs of *Peloponnesus*, being now in very great Distraction and Distress, requir'd and invited his Assistance, he desir'd leave to depart only with his Friends, but could not ob-

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obtain that, the King not so much as hearing his Petition, being shut up amongst his Women, and wasting his Hours in Debauchery and Frolicks. But *Sofibius*, the chief Minister of State, thought that *Cleomenes* being detain'd against his will, would grow ungovernable and dangerous, and yet that it was not safe to let him go, being an aspiring, daring Man, and well acquainted with the Diseases and Weakness of the Kingdom ; for no Presents, no Gifts, could win him to a Compliance. But as the *Ox Apis*, though revelling in all possible plenty and delight, yet desires to live as nature would provide for him, to be at liberty, and frisk about the Fields, and can scarce endure to be under the Priests keeping ; so he could not brook their Courtship, and tender Entertainment, but like *Achilles*,

(grief,  
*Whilst there, his heart did waste with secret*  
*And he was eager for the noisy Wars.*

His Affairs standing in this condition, *Nicagoras* the *Messenian* came to *Alexandria*, a Man that deeply hated *Cleomenes*, yet pretended to be his Friend ; for he had formerly sold *Cleomenes* a fair Estate, but never receiv'd the Money, because

*Cleomenes* was either unable, (as it may be) or else, by reason of his engagement in the Wars and other Distractions, had no time to pay him. *Cleomenes* seeing him landing, (for he was then walking upon the Key) kindly saluted him, and ask'd, *What Business brought him to Ægypt?* *Nicagoras* return'd his Complement, and told him, *That he came to bring some excellent War-horses to the King.* And *Cleomenes* with a Smile subjoynd, *I wish you had rather brought Pimps, Whores and Pathicks; for those now are the King's chief Delight.* *Nicagoras* at the present smild at the Conceit; but a few days after he put *Cleomenes* in mind of the Estate that he had bought of him, and desir'd his Money, protesting that he would not have troubled him, if his Merchandize had turn'd to that Account, which he thought it would. *Cleomenes* reply'd, *That he had not a penny left of all that had been given him:* At which Answer *Nicagoras* being nettled, told *Sosibius* *Cleomenes's* Scoff upon the King. He caress'd him for the Discovery, but desiring to have some greater Reason to excite the King against *Cleomenes*, perswaded *Nicagoras* to leave a Letter writen against *Cleomenes*, importing that he had a Design if he could have gotten Ships and Sould-  
ers,

ers, to surprize *Cyrene*: *Nicagoras* wrote such a Letter, and left *Ægypt*. Four days after *Sosibius* brought the Letter to *Ptolemy*, pretending it was just then delivered him, and with a bitter Invective excited the Fury of the Youth; upon this it was agreed, that *Cleomenes* should be invited into a large Apartment, and treated as formerly, but not suffer'd to go out again: this Usage was grievous to *Cleomenes*, and by this unlucky Accident, his Hopes for the future seem'd to be quite dash'd. *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Chrysermas*, a Favourite of the Kings, always carried himself fairly towards *Cleomenes*; they contracted a near Acquaintance, and would talk freely together about the State. He upon *Cleomenes's* Desire came to him, had some Discourse with him, upon a few and inconsiderable Subjects, to avoid suspicion, and made some Excuses for the King; but as he went out again, not knowing that *Cleomenes* follow'd him to the Door, he very severely reprimanded the Keepers, for their Carelessness in looking after so great and so furious a wild Beast. This *Cleomenes* himself heard, and retiring before *Ptolemy* perceiv'd it, told his Friends what he had heard. Upon this they cast off all their former Hopes, and determin'd for

violent Proceedings, resolving to be reveng'd on *Ptolemy* for his base and unjust Dealing, to have satisfaction for the Affronts, to die as it became *Spartans*, and not stay till, like fatted Sacrifices, they were butcher'd: for 'twas both grievous and dishonourable for *Cleomenes*, who had scorn'd to come to Terms with *Antigonus*, a brave Warrior, and a Man of Action, to wait an effeminate King's leisure, till he should lay aside his Fiddle, and end his Dance, and then kill him. These Courses being resolv'd on, and *Ptolemy* hapning at the same time to make a Progress to *Canopus*, they first spread abroad a Report, that his Freedom was order'd by the King; and it being the King's custom, to send Presents and an Entertainment to those whom he would free, *Cleomenes's* Friends made that provision, and sent it into the Prison, thereby deceiving the Keepers, who thought it had been sent by the King; for he sacrific'd, and gave them large Portions, and with a Crown upon his Head feasted and made merry with his Friends: 'tis said, that he began the Action sooner than he design'd, having understood that a Servant of one of the Accomplices lay abroad with a Mistress that he lov'd. This made him afraid of a Discovery; and therefore

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as soon as it was full Noon, and all the Keepers drunk and fast asleep, he put on his Coat, and opening the Seam on his right Shoulder, with his drawn Sword in his hand he issued forth, together with his Friends, provided in the same manner, making 13 in all. One of them, by Name *Hippotas*, was lame, he follow'd the first Onset very well; but when afterward he perceiv'd that they were more slow in their Advances for his sake, he desir'd them to run him through, and not ruine their Enterprize, by staying for an useless, unprofitable Man. By chance an *Alexandrian* was then riding by the Door, him they threw off, and setting *Hippotas* on Horseback, ran through the narrow Lanes, and proclaim'd Liberty to the People; but they, it seems, had Courage enough to praise and admire *Cleomenes's* Daring, but not one had the heart to follow and assist him. Three of them fell on *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Chrysermas*, as he was coming out of the Palace, and kill'd him: Another *Ptolemy*, the Lieutenant of the City, advancing against them in a Chariot, they set upon, dispers'd his Guards and Attendants, and pulling him out of the Chariot, kill'd him upon the Place. Then they made toward the Castle, designing to break open the Prison,

son, and take the Prisoners to their Assistance; but the Keepers were too quick for them, and secur'd the Passages. Being baffled in this Attempt, *Cleomenes* with his Company roam'd about the City, none joyning with him, but all retreating from, and flying his Approach: therefore despairing of Success, and saying to his Friends, That it was no wonder that Women rul'd o're those Men that fled Liberty, he excited them all to die as bravely as became his Followers, and Men of their glorious Performances. This said, *Hippotas* was first, as he desir'd, run through by one of the young Men, and then each of them readily and resolutely fell upon his own Sword, except *Panteus*, that *Panteus* that first surpriz'd *Megalopolis*. This Man being a very handsome Person, and a better Companion than any of the Youth, the King lov'd, and bad him, when he had seen him and the rest fall'n, die by their Example. *Panteus* walk'd over them as they lay, and prick'd every one with his Dagger, to try whether any was alive; when he prick'd *Cleomenes* in the Leg, and saw him turn upon his Back, he kiss'd him, sat down by him, and when he was quite dead, cover'd his Carcass, and then kill'd himself upon his Body.

Thus

Thus fell *Cleomenes* that great, brave Man, after he had been King of *Sparta* sixteen Years. The News of their Fall being nois'd through the City, *Cratefilea*, though a Woman of a great Spirit, could not bear up against the insupportable weight of this Affliction; but embracing *Cleomenes's* Children, made grievous Lamentations; but the eldest Boy, none suspecting such a Spirit in a Child, threw himself headlong from the top of the House; he was bruise'd very much, but not kill'd by the Fall, and was taken up crying, and expressing his Resentments for not being permitted to destroy himself. *Ptolemy*, as soon as an Account of the Action was brought him, gave order that *Cleomenes's* Body should be dead and hung up; that his Children, Mother, and the Women that were with her, should be kill'd. Amongst those was *Panteus's* Wife, a very fair Woman, and of a stately Carriage, who had been but newly married, and suffer'd these Disasters in the height of her Love. Her Parents would not let her embark with *Panteus* presently after they were married, though she eagerly desir'd it, but shut her up, and kept her by Violence at home; yet a few days after she got an Horse and a little Money, and escaping

scaping by Night, made speed to *Tenarus* where she embark'd for *Egypt*, came to her Husband, and with him chearfully endur'd to live in a foreign Country. She led *Cratesiclea* as she was going with the Souldiers to Execution, held up her Train, and begg'd her to be courageous, who of her self was not in the least afraid of Death, and desir'd nothing else, but only to be kill'd before the Children. When they were come to the place of Execution, the Children were first kill'd before *Cratesiclea's* Eyes, and afterward she her self, with only these words in her Mouth; *O Children, whither are you gone?* But *Panteus's* Wife girding her Garments close to her, and being a strong Woman, without any Noise or Lamentation, lookt after every one that was slain, and wound them up as well as her present Circumstances would permit; and after all were kill'd, dressing her self, bound her clothes close about her, and suffering none to come near, or be an Eye-witness of her Fall, beside the Executioner, she courageously submitted to the streak, and wanted no Body to look after her, or wind her up after she was dead. Thus in her Death the Modesty of her Mind appear'd, and set that Guard upon her Body, which she always kept when alive:

live: And she in the declining Age of the *Spartans* shew'd, That Women were no unequal Rivals of the Men, and was an Instance of such a Courage as would not sneak to the Affronts of Fortune. A few days after, those that watch'd the hanging Body of *Cleomenes*, saw a very great Snake winding about his Head, and covering his Face, so that no Bird of Prey would fly at it. This made the King superstitiously afraid, and set the Women upon several Lustrations, as if he had been an extraordinary Man, and one belov'd by the Gods that had been slain. And the *Alexandrians* made Processions to the Place, and gave *Cleomenes* the Title of *Hero*, and Son of the Gods, till the Philosophers satisfied them by saying, That *as Oxen breed Bees, putrifying Horses breed Hornets, and Beetles rise from the Carcasses of dead Asses, so the Humours and Juices of the Marrow of a Mans's Body coagulating, produce Serpents.* And this the Ancients observing, appropriated a Serpent rather than any other Creature to *Hero's*.

THE

THE  
LIVES  
OF THE  
GRACCHI  
TIBERIUS and CAIUS

English'd from the Greek  
by *John Warren*, Fellow  
of *St. Catherine's-Hall* in  
*Cambridge*.

HAVING dispatch'd the foregoing  
History, we shall proceed to take  
a view of a pair of *Romans*, no  
less remarkable for their Misfortunes than  
the

TIBERIUS & CAIUS GRACCHUS





the former; and compare with the Lives of *Agis* and *Cleomenes*, these of *Tiberius* and *Caius*. They were the Sons of *Tiberius Gracchus*, who tho' he had been once *Censor*, twice *Consul*, and twice had triumph'd, yet was more renown'd and esteem'd for his Virtue than his Honours. Upon this account, after the Death of that *Scipio* who defeated *Hannibal*, he was thought worthy to match with his Daughter *Cornelia*; tho' there had been no Friendship or Familiarity between *Scipio* and him, but rather the contrary. There goes a Report, that he once found in his Bed-chamber a couple of Snakes, and that the *Soothsayers* being consulted concerning the *Prodigy*, advised, That he should neither kill 'em both, nor let 'em both escape; saying, That if the male Serpent was kill'd, *Tiberius* should die; and if the Female, *Cornelia*: And that therefore *Tiberius*, who extreamly loved his Wife, and thought besides that it was much more becoming him, who was an old Man, to die, than her, who as yet was but a young Woman; kill'd the male Serpent, and let the female escape: And soon after himself dy'd, leaving behind him 12 Children born to him by *Cornelia*.

*Cornelia* taking upon her self all the Care of her Family, and Education of her Children, approved her self so modest a Matron, so indulgent a Mother, and so constant and noble-spirited a Widow, that *Tiberius* seem'd to all Men to have done nothing unreasonable, in choosing to die for so great a Woman; who, when King *Ptolomy* himself would have married her, and proffer'd her his Crown, refused it, and chose rather to live a Widow. In this state she continued, and lost all her Children except one Daughter, that was married to *Scipio* the younger; and two Sons, *Tiberius* and *Caius*, whose Lives we are now writing.

These she brought up with so great Care, that tho' they were without dispute of the noblest Family, and had the best natural Parts among the *Romans*, yet they seem'd to owe their eminent Virtues, more to their Education than their Birth. Now as in the Statues and Pictures of *Cæstor* and *Pollux*, tho' the Brothers resemble one another, yet there is a difference to be perceived in their Countenances, between the one, who delighted in the *Cæstus*, and the other, that was famous for managing the Horse: so tho' there was a great Agreement between these

two

two noble Youths, in their common pursuit after Fortitude and Moderation, after Liberality and Eloquence, and greatness of Mind; yet in their Actions, and Administrations of publick Affairs, a Disagreement as great manifestly appear'd. It will not be amiss before we proceed, to set down the Difference between them.

*Tiberius* in the Make of his Countenance and his Looks, in his Gesture and Motion, was gentle and compos'd; but *Caius* earnest and vehement: so that in their publick Speeches to the People, the one modestly used very little Action, nor changed his Place; the other would walk about in the *Rostrum*, and in the heat of his Orations, pull his Gown off his Shoulders, and was the first of all the *Romans* that used such Gestures: As *Cleon* is said to be the first Orator among the *Athenians*, that pull'd off his Cloak, and smote his Thigh, in his Harangues to the Multitude. *Caius* his Oratory was impetuous, and so pathological, that it rais'd Horror in the Auditory; but *Tiberius* was more mild, and apt to move Pity and Compassion: in his Words he was pure and natural, yet laborious and accurate; but *Caius* was pompous and figurative. So likewise in their way of Living, and

at

An exact Character of Tiberius and Caius.

A Drachma is  
seven pence  
half penny.

at their Tables, *Tiberius* was frugal, and no affecter of Variety; but *Caius*, if indeed compared with other Men, moderate enough: but in respect of his Brother, too curious a Lover of Rarities, and profuse; which *Drusus* objected to him, That he had bought certain Dolphins of Silver, to the value of 1250 Drachmas, for every pound weight.

The same difference that appear'd in their Speaking, was observable also in their Tempers: The one was smooth and sedate, the other rough and passionate; and to that degree, that often in the midst of his Orations, he was so hurried away by his Passion, even against his own Will, that he fell to give ill Language; and so strain'd his Voice, that he could not proceed in the Speech. For a Remedy to this Excess, he made use of an ingenious Servant of his, one *Licinius*, who stood constantly behind him with a \* *Pitch-pipe*, or Instrument to regulate the Voice by; and when ever he perceived his Master's Tone alter, and grow harsh with Anger, he struck a soft Note with his Pipe, at the hearing of which, *Caius* immediately bated of the vehemence of his Passion and Voice, grew mild, and was easily recall'd to Temper. These are the differences between the

two

two Brothers; but their Valour against their Enemies, their Justice to their Countreymen, their Care and well management of their publick Affairs, and lastly their Continency against Sensuality and Pleasures, were equally remarkable and alike in both.

*Tiberius* was the elder by nine years, which occasion'd that their publick Actions were divided, by the difference of the Times, in which those of the one, and those of the other, were transacted. This was no small hindrance to their Undertakings; for not coming at the same time to the administration of Affairs, they could not joyn their Interests together, which between them both, had they flourish'd at once, must needs have been very great, and almost irresistible. We must therefore give an Account of each of them singly, and first of the eldest.

*Tiberius*, tho' as yet but a young Man, was so celebrated and esteem'd, that he was soon admitted into the Colledge of the *Augurs*, and that with Respect had, more to his early Virtue, than his noble Birth. This *Appius Claudius* made appear; who, tho' he had been *Consul* and *Censor*, and was then the chief of the Roman Senate, and excelling in Wisdom most of his Quality, at a publick Feast of

*Tiberius made  
Augur.*

S f f

the

\* τωναστόν  
ἄστρον.

He marries  
Claudia, the  
Daughter of  
App. Claudius.

the *Augurs*, address'd himself openly to *Tiberius*, and with great expressions of Kindness, offer'd him his Daughter in Marriage; which with much satisfaction embracing, and the Wedding Agreements being thus speedily concluded, *Appianus* went straight home, and calling out his Wife to the Gate, with a loud Voice cry'd out, *O Antistia, I have contracted our Daughter Claudia to a Husband.* She being amazed, answer'd, *But why so suddenly? or what means this hast? unless you have provided Tiberius Gracchus for her Husband.* I am not ignorant, that some apply this Story to *Tiberius*, the Father of the *Gracchi*, and *Scipio Africanus*; but most People relate it as we have done: And *Polybius* writes, that after the Death of *Scipio Africanus*, the nearest Relations of *Cornelia*, preferring *Tiberius* to all other Competitors, gave her to him in Marriage, not having been engaged or promised to any one by her Father.

Now this young *Tiberius* serving in *Africa* under the younger *Scipio*, who had married his Sister, and conversing under the same Tent with his General, soon observ'd and learn'd his noble Genius, which excited a great emulation of his Virtues, and stirr'd him up to the imitation of his Actions, and in a short time excell'd all

the young Men of the Army in his regular Behaviour and Courage; and he at one Siege was the first that mounted the Enemies Wall, as *Fannius* says, who writes, that he himself climb'd up with him, and was partaker in that Action. His presence created amongst the Soldiers an extraordinary Affection, and his departure left a passionate desire of his Return.

After that Expedition, being chosen Pay-master of the Army, it was his fortune to serve in the War against the *Numantines*, under the Command of *C. Mancinus* the Consul, a Person no ways blameable, but the most unfortunate of all the Roman Generals. Notwithstanding, amidst the greatest Misfortunes, and in the most unsuccessful Enterprizes, not only the Discretion and Valour of *Tiberius*, but also (which was still more to be admired) the great Respect and Veneration which he had for his General, was most eminently remarkable: insomuch that even in the extremity of Danger, he never regarded himself, as a principal Officer; for when he was overcome in several desperate Battels, he would leave the main Body of the Army, and in the Night-time sally out with the Forces under his particular Command. When the

He is chosen  
Quæstor.  
*Tapias.*

*Numantines* perceived this, they immediately possess'd themselves of his Camp, pursuing that part of the Forces which was put to flight; slew all those that were in the Rear, hedg'd the whole Army in on every side, and forcing them into such intricate Places, as that there could be no possibility of an Escape. *Mancinus* despairing to make his way through by force, sent a Messenger to desire a Truce, and cessation of Arms; but they refused to conclude a Treaty with any one except *Tiberius*, and required that he should be sent to treat with them. This they earnestly insisted upon, not only in regard to the young Man's Courage, (for he had a great Reputation amongst the Souldiers) but likewise in remembrance of his Father *Tiberius*, who in his Expedition against the *Spaniards*, had utterly destroyed several other Places, but granted a Peace to the *Numantines*, which he commanded to be always kept punctually and inviolable.

He makes a  
Peace with the  
*Numantines*.

Upon this Consideration *Tiberius* was dispatch'd to the Enemy, whom he persuaded to accept of several Conditions, and he himself complied with others; and by this means it's evident, that he saved 20000 of the *Roman* Citizens, besides Slaves, and those that follow'd the

Army. However the *Numantines* seized upon, and destroyed all things that were left behind in the Camp; amongst these were *Tiberius's* Books of Accompts, containing the whole Transactions of his *Quæstor-ship*, upon which he set an extraordinary value: And therefore when the Army was already upon their March, he return'd to *Numantia*, accompanied with only three or four of his intimate Friends, and making his Application to the principal Officers of the *Numantines*, he earnestly entreated, that they would return him his Books, lest his Enemies should thereby take an occasion to upbraid him, for not being able to give an Account of the Moneys received and disbursed by him. The *Numantines* joyfully embraced this opportunity of obliging him, and kindly invited him into the City; as he stood arguing the Case with them, they approach'd towards him, took him by the Hands, and earnestly begg'd, that he would never again look upon them as Enemies, but relying upon their Friendship, be confident for the future of their present Sincerity. *Tiberius* thought it convenient to believe 'em, because he was desirous to have his Books return'd, and was afraid lest he should disoblige them, by shewing any manner of Distrust.

As soon as he enter'd into the City, they in the first place invited him to a publick Entertainment, and were very earnest that he would accept of it: Afterwards they return'd his Books, and gave him the liberty to take what-ever he saw most acceptable of the remaining Spoils. He on the other hand would accept of nothing but some Frankincense, which he used in his publick Sacrifices; and after he had kindly embraced them, and made his Complements, departed.

When he return'd to *Rome*, he found the whole Transaction censured and reproach'd, as a Business that was base and scandalous to the *Romans*; but the Relations and Friends of the Souldiers, which were the greatest part of the Populace, came flocking to *Tiberius*, whom they acknowledg'd the Preserver of so many Citizens, and imputed all the Miscarriages which had happen'd, to the General. They who were dissatisfied with the Proceedings, proposed the example of their Ancestors to be followed; for after the hasty Peace, which had been concluded with the *Samnites*, upon conditions that the *Romans* should march home without molestation, they stripp'd all such as had been any way concern'd making that Peace, as well the Treasurers

and Tribunes, as the leading Officers; and in that manner deliver'd 'em up into the Enemies hands, laying the Crimes of Perjury, and breach of that Peace, at their Doors. But in this Affair, the Populace shewing an extraordinary Kindness and Affection for *Tiberius*, they indeed voted that the *Consul* should be stripp'd, and put in Irons, and so deliver'd to the *Numantines*; but they granted a general Pardon to all the others, out of Respect only to *Tiberius*. It may be probable also, that *Scipio*, who at that time was a leading Man among the *Romans*, lent him his Assistance; tho' he was nevertheless censured for not protecting *Mancinus* too; and that he did not ratifie the Articles of Peace, which had been agreed upon by his Kinsman and Friend *Tiberius*. But it's evident, that the greatest part of these Differences did arise from the Ambition of some designing Politicians, who had a Kindness for *Tiberius*. However this Disorder never came to a malignant and incurable Disease; and truly I cannot be perswaded, that *Tiberius* would ever have taken those Courses which he did, if *Scipio Africanus* had had any hand in the management of his Affairs: for at the time when he was engaged in the War against *Numantia*,



us was the chief occasion of this. He was Contemporary with *Tiberius*, and very ambitious to gain the Reputation of being the better Orator; whom, when *Tiberius* at his return from the Campaign, found to be in very great Esteem and Authority, he was desirous to out-do him, by attempting a popular Enterprize of this Difficulty, and of such great consequence. But his Brother *Caius* left it us in Writing, that when *Tiberius* went through *Tuscany* into *Numantia*, and found the Countreys almost depopulated, there being hardly any Husbandmen or Shepherds, and for the most part only barbarous foreign Slaves; he from that time took into his serious Consideration, the management of this Affair, which in the sequel proved so fatal to his Family: tho' it is most certain, that the People themselves chiefly excited him to be active and vigorous in the prosecution of this, by their fixing publick Libels upon the Porches, Walls and Monuments, humbly beseeching him, that he would re-establish them in their former Possessions.

The Law concerning the division of Lands:

However he did not make this Law, without the Advice and Assistance of those Citizens, that were then most eminent for their Virtue and Authority; amongst whom was *Crassus* the high-Priest,

Priest,

Priest, *Mutius Scævola* the Lawyer, (who at that time was *Consul*) and *Claudius Appianus* his Father-in-law. Never did any Law appear more moderate and gentle, especially being enacted against so great an Oppression and Avarice: for they who ought to have been severely punished for transgressing the former Laws, and should at least have lost all their Titles to such Lands, which they had unjustly usurp'd; yet they were order'd notwithstanding to receive a Gratuity, for quitting their unlawful Claims, and restoring their Lands to those right Owners, who stood in need thereof. But tho' this Reformation was managed with so much Tenderneſs, and all the former Transactions smother'd, the People were nevertheless careful to prevent all Abuses of the like nature for the future. On the other hand, the money'd Men, and those of great Estates, were exasperated, through Covetousness, against the Law it self, and against the Law-giver, through Anger and Obſtinacy; they therefore endeavour'd to seduce the People, insinuating to them, that *Tiberius* had introduced such a division of the Lands, with a design only to disturb the Government, and put all things into a Confusion.

But



But they succeeded not in this Project; for *Tiberius* being a Person always resolute in the maintaining of an honourable and just Cause, and one whose Eloquence was sufficient to have made a less creditable Action appear plausible, was earnest, and not easily to be controuled. Upon this account, being plac'd in the *Rostrum*, he made a Speech on the behalf of the poor People, to this effect. *The savage Beasts*, says he, *in Italy, have their particular Dens; they have their Places of Repose and Refuge: but the Men who bore Arms, and exposed their Lives for the safety of their Country, enjoy'd in the mean time nothing more in it but the fresh Air and Sun-shine; and having no Houses or Settlements of their own, were constrained to wander from Place to Place with their Wives and Children. He told 'em, That the Commanders were guilty of a ridiculous Error, when at the Head of their Armies, they exhorted the common Souldiers to fight for their Temples and Altars; when not any amongst so many Romans, is possess'd of either Altar or Monument, neither have they any Houses of their own, or Seats of their Ancestors to defend: they fought indeed, and were slain, but it was to maintain the Luxury and the Wealth of other Men: they likewise were styled also the Lords of the*

*Tiberius's  
Speech.*

*Uni.*

*Universe, but in the mean time had not one foot of Ground, which they could call their own.* An Harangue of this nature, spoken to an Enthusiastical and tumultuous Rabble, by a Person of extraordinary Prudence, and great Zeal; none of his Adversaries at that time presumed to make any opposition thereunto. Forbearing therefore all manner of Disputes, they turn'd themselves towards *Marcus Octavius*, his fellow-Tribune, who being a young Man, of a sober Conversation, modest in his Behaviour, and an intimate Friend of *Tiberius's*, did upon that account decline at first the opposing of him; but at length, over-perswaded with the repeated Importunities of some considerable Persons, he was prevail'd upon to answer *Tiberius*; and he insisted chiefly upon the Abrogation of the Law; it being a Custom, that the *Tribunes* have a power to hinder any Law from passing, and that the Commonalty can enact nothing, if only one of *them* dissents from it. *Tiberius* being enraged at these Proceedings, abolish'd presently this mild Law; but at the same time preferr'd another; which as it was more grateful to the common People, so it was much more severe against Extortioners; commanding them, *To make an immediate Surrender of all such Lands,*

*M. Octavius  
opposes this  
Law.*

*Lands, which they, contrary to former Laws, had got into their Possessions.* From hence it was, that there arose daily Contentions between him and *Octavius* in their Orations; however, tho' they express'd themselves with much heat and earnestness, they yet were never known to use any scurrillous Language, or in their Passion to let slip any indecent Expression, so as to derogate from one another. From whence it's observable, how much a good Temper, and an Ingenuous Education does influence and compose mens Minds; not onely in their Meetings for Pleasure and Diversion, but likewise in their Contentions, and in their very emulation for Preferments.

When *Tiberius* considered, that *Octavius* himself had offended against this Law, and detain'd a great quantity of Ground from the Commonalty, he desired that all manner of Disputes might be laid aside; and generously proffer'd for the Publick Good, tho' he himself had but an indifferent Estate, to purchase *Octavius's* share, at his proper Cost and Charges: But upon the refusal of this proffer by *Octavius*, he then publish'd an Edict, prohibiting all Magistrates to exercise their respective Functions, till such time as the Law was either ratified or

rejected

rejected by Publick Votes. He further Seal'd up the Gates of *Saturn's Temple*, in which the Publick Treasury was kept, so that the Treasurers could neither take any thing out from thence, or put any thing in. He threaten'd to impose a severe Fine upon such as should presume to disobey his Commands, insomuch that all the Officers for fear of this Penalty, omitted the exercise of their several Jurisdictions. Upon this account, the Gentlemen of Estates put themselves into Mourning, went up and down Melancholy and Dejected; they enter'd into a Conspiracy against *Tiberius*, and procur'd *Ruffians* to murder him; insomuch that he never went abroad without such a Tuck or Rapier as Robbers use, which the *Latines* call *Dolon*.

When the day appointed was come, and the People Summon'd to give their Votes, the Rich Men seized upon the Ballotting-Boxes, and carried them away by force, all things being Transacted in great Confusion. For when *Tiberius's* Party appeared strong enough to oppose the contrary Faction, and were drawn together in a Body, with Resolutions to do so; *Manlius* and *Fulvius*, two of the Consular Quality, threw themselves at *Tiberius's* Feet, took him by the Hand, and

and with Tears in their Eyes, humbly beg'd of him to desist. *Tiberius* considering the inconveniencies that were likely to arise, and having a great Respect for two such Eminent Persons, demanded of them what they would advise him to do. They acknowledged themselves Persons altogether unfit to advise in a Matter of so great Importance, but earnestly entreated him to leave it to the Determination of the Senate. When the Senate was Assembled, and yet could not bring the business to a Period, by reason of the prevalency of the Rich Faction, he then betook himself to illegal and unjust Methods, endeavouring to deprive *Octavius* of his Tribune ship; it being impossible for him without that, to get the Law ratified and confirmed. At first he caress'd him with most Obliging Language, and taking him by his Hands, beseech'd him, that now in the presence of all the People, he would take this Opportunity to Oblige them, in granting onely that Request which was in itself so Just and Reasonable, being but a small Recompence in regard of those many Dangers and Hardships which they had undergone for the Publick Safety. *Octavius* would by no means be perswaded to a Compliance; whereupon *Tiberius*

declared

declared openly, that seeing they two were joyntly concern'd in the same Office, and of equal Authority, it would be a difficult matter to compose this Difference without a Civil War; and that the only Remedy which he knew, must of Necessity be the Deposing one of them from their Office. He desired therefore that *Octavius* would Summon the People to pass their Verdict upon him first, averring that he would willingly relinquish his Authority if the Honest Citizens would consent to it. But *Octavius* still continued refractory; wherefore *Tiberius* told him plainly, That the People should have liberty to Vote against him, if upon mature Deliberation he did not suddenly alter his Mind, and after this Declaration Adjourned the Assembly till the next day. When the People were met together again, *Tiberius* placed himself in the *Rostrum*, and endeavoured a second time to perswade *Octavius*: But all being to no purpose, he referred the whole matter to the People, Ordering them to Vote whether *Octavius* should be Deposed or not; and when seventeen of the Thirty five Tribes had already Voted against him, and there wanted only the Votes of one Tribe more for his final deprivation, a short stop being here put to the proceed-

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ings, *Tiberius* vouchsafed to renew his Importunities, embraced and kissed him before all the Congregation, begging with all the earnestness imaginable, that he would neither suffer himself to be exposed to such Infamy, nor him to be reputed the Author and Promoter of such an odious Project. *Octavius* (they say) seemed a little softened and moved with their Importunities, and with his Eyes full of Tears continued silent for a considerable time: But afterwards looking towards the Estates who were gathered together in a Body, partly for shame, and partly for fear of incurring their Displeasure, he generously bid *Tiberius* do what he pleased. The Law for his Depriation being thus Voted, *Tiberius* Ordered one of his Servants, whom he had made a Free-man, to pull *Octavius* out of the *Rostrum*, for he employed his own Domestick Servants in the stead of Serjeants.

And this was a further addition to the Punishment, that *Octavius* was dragged out in such an ignominious manner. The People immediately assaulted him with great violence, whilst the Rich Men ran in to his Assistance. *Octavius* presently fled, and without any Attendant escaped the Fury of the Rabble, tho' it happen'd that a trusty Servant of his, who had placed

*Octavius Deposed.*

placed himself by his Master, that he might assist him towards his Escape, in keeping off the Multitude, had his Eyes struck out, contrary to the intention of *Tiberius*, who ran with all hast (when he perceived the Disturbance) to appease the Ryoters.

This being done, the Law concerning the Lands was Ratified, & Confirmed, and three Commissioners were appointed to make a Survey of the Grounds, and see the same equally divided: The Commissioners were *Tiberius* himself, *Claudius Appian* his Father-in-Law, and his Brother *C. Gracchus*, who at this time was not at *Rome*, but in the Army under the Command of *Scipio Africanus* before *Numantia*. These things were transacted by *Tiberius* peaceably, none daring to stand in Opposition to him; and besides all this, he chose by his own Interest and Authority another Tribune, not as formerly out of the Eminent Nobility, but *Mutius*, one of his own Domestick Servants. Upon the account of these proceedings, the Rich were extremely offended, and still dreaded, lest he should grow more Popular; they therefore took all Opportunities of affronting him publicly in the Senate-House; for when he desired, as was usual, to have a Tent provided at the Publick Charge

Charge for his use, when he should begin his Expedition to divide the Lands, though it was a favour commonly granted to Persons employed in business of much less importance, yet was peremptorily refus'd to him; and they would allow him only Nine *Oboli* to defray each days Expences.

An Obolus is  
a Penny Far-  
thing.

*P. Narfica* was the chief promoter of these Affronts, and was not afraid to own how much he hated him, upon the account of his having formerly a very great Estate in those Publick Lands, and did not a little resent it, to be turned out now by force. The People on the other hand were still more and more enraged, insomuch that a little after this, it happen'd that one of *Tiberius's* Friends dyed suddenly, and his Body being full of Malignant spots, the People therefore ran in a Tumultuous manner to his Funeral, crying aloud that the Man was Poysoned: They tooke the *Coffin* upon their shoulders, and carried the Corps to the Funeral Pile, really believing that the plain Symptoms of Poyson were easily discernable, for the Body swell'd to a great bigness, and such a quantity of Corrupt Humours issued out, that the Funeral-fire was extinguish'd thereby; & when it was again kindled, the Wood still

would

would not burn, insomuch that they were constrained to carry the Corps to another place, where, with much difficulty, it took fire. Besides this, *Tiberius*, that he might incense the People yet more, put himself into Mourning, brought his Children amongst the Crowd, intreated the People to provide for them and their Mother, as if he himself did now despair of his own Security. About this time King *Attalus*, Sirnamed *Philopater*, dyed, and *Endemius*, a *Pergamenian*, brought his *Last Will* to *Rome*, whereby he had made the *Roman* People his Heirs.

*Tiberius*, to ingratiate himself still more with the Commonalty, immediately propos'd making of a Law, that all the ready Money which *Attalus* left, should be distributed amongst such poor Citizens as were to be sharers of the Publick Lands, for the better enabling of them to proceed in the management and cultivating of their Ground; and as for the Cities that were in the Territories of *Attalus*, he declared that the disposal of them did not at all belong to the Senate, but the People, and that he himself would ask their Pleasure herein; by this he exasperated the Senate more than ever he had done before, and there-

*Tiberius dis-  
poses of King  
Attalus's Le-  
gacy to the  
Common Peo-  
ple.*

fore *Pompeius* stood up instantly, and acquainted the Senate that he was the next Neighbour to *Tiberius*, and so had the Opportunity of knowing, That *Eudemus* the *Pergamenian* had Presented *Tiberius* with a *Royal Crown* and a *Purple Robe*, thereby intimating that *Tiberius* should ere long be *King of Rome*.

*Quintus Metellus* also upbraided *Tiberius*, that when his Father was *Censor*, the *Romans* never returned home from their Country Houses after Supper, but they put out their Torches, lest they should be seen to have indulged themselves in Banquetting at unseasonable hours. But instead of this decent Custom, his common Practice was, to walk the Streets at Mid-night, whilst mean and insolent Fellows flock'd to him, and made up his Retinue.

*Titus Annius*, a Man of no great Repute either for his Honesty or Learning, but a cunning Sophister in proposing cramp Questions and returning Answers, offered to prove by undeniable Arguments, that *Tiberius* had done unworthily in Depositing a *Roman Magistrate*, whom the Laws ever esteemed Sacred and Inviolable. The People immediately grew Tumultuous, and *Tiberius* Summoning a General Assembly, commanded

*Annius*

*Annius* to appear and maintain that which he had asserted: But *Annius* being neither a good Logician, nor pretending much to Oratory, rather betook himself to his old way of asking some cunning sort of Questions, and desired that he propose one or two to *Tiberius*, before he entered upon the Chief Argument. This Liberty being granted, and silence Proclaimed, *Annius* proposed this Question. If you, says he, had a Design to Vilifie and Defame me, and I should apply my self to any other Magistrate for redress, and he should come readily to my assistance, would you for that reason fall into an extravagant Passion, and put him out of Commission? *Tiberius*, they say, being much surprized at this Question, was wholly silent, tho' at other times his assurance as well as his Eloquence was always remarkable; yet now upon this account he thought it convenient to dismiss the Assembly.

Afterwards beginning to understand that his behaviour towards *Octavius* did disgust the *Populace* as well as the *Nobility* (because the Dignity of the Tribunes seemed to be violated, which had always continued till that day very Sacred and Honourable) he made a Speech to the People in Justification of himself, out of which it may not be improper to Collect

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some particulars, that we may thereby discern what impression such Eloquence was able to make upon an Auditory. *A Tribune, says he, of the People is Sacred indeed, and ought to be inviolable, because in a manner Consecrated to be the Guardian and Protector of them; but if he degenerates so far as to Oppress the People, to retrench their Privileges, and take away all their Liberty of Voting, he then deprives himself of that Honourable Station by the neglect of his Duty, for which the Honour was bestowed upon him; otherwise a Tribune might not think himself obnoxious, tho' he should demolish the Capitol, or burn the Naval Magazines.*

*Certainly when he that is only guilty of such Extravagancies as these, can't be lookt upon as a good Tribune; much less can he be so, that dares presume to diminish the Privileges of the People, because he ceases from that time to be the Peoples Tribune. Is it not very unreasonable, that a Tribune should have Power to Imprison a Consul, if the People must have no Authority to Degrade him when he uses that Honour which he received from them, to their detriment: For the Tribunes, as well as the Consuls, are Elected to that Dignity by the Peoples Votes. (But to proceed) the Kingly Government, which comprehends all sorts of Authority in*  
it

*it self alone, is confirmed with the greatest and most religious Solemnity imaginable, as being a Government which does most resemble that of Heaven. But the Citizens notwithstanding this, deposed King Tarquin, because of his tyrannical Oppressions, and for the Injustice of one single Man, the ancient Government under which Rome was built, was abolish'd for ever. What is there in all Rome so sacred and venerable, as the Vestal Virgins, to whose care alone the preservation of the eternal Fire is committed; yet if their Chastity be violated, and their Reputation stained, they are buried alive: for when they presume to commit any Offence against their Gods, they instantly lose that Veneration, which they claimed as Attendants in their Service; so likewise a Tribune should no longer be respected by the People as a sacred Person, when he offends against that Authority from whence he derived his own.*

*We always esteem that Person legally chosen Tribune, who is elected only by the majority of Votes; and is not therefore the same Person much more lawfully degraded, when by a general consent of them all, they agree to depose him. Nothing is so sacred as religious Offerings; yet the People were never prohibited to make use of them, but suffered to remove and carry them where-ever they pleased: they likewise, when-ever it has*  
been

been thought convenient, have transferr'd the Tribuneship as a sacred Present, from one Person to another ; and if this had been an unusual thing, yet that Authority could not have been thought unalterable, because several Magistrates have often voluntarily surrendered their Commissions, or desired to be discharged.

Those were the principal Heads of *Tiberius's* Apology ; but his Friends apprehending the Dangers which seemed to threaten him , and those Conspiracies that were secretly contrived against him, were of opinion , that the safest way would be for him to petition, that he might be continued *Tribune* for the year ensuing. Upon this Consideration he again endeavoured to oblige the People with other Laws, making the years of serving in the War fewer than formerly, in granting the liberty of Appeals from the Judges to the People, and joyning to the Senators that were Judges at that time, an equal number of ordinary Gentlemen, endeavouring as much as in him lay to lessen the Power of the Senate ; which proceeded rather from Passion and Prejudice, than from any rational regard to Equity and the publick Good. When it came to be debated, whether these Laws should be ratified, he was presently sen-

sensible, that his Adversaries had the most Votes, ( the People as yet being not got together in a full Body ) and in such Cases, 'twas his custom to raise some Disputes with his fellow-Officers, out of design only to gain longer time ; but failing in that Project too, he at length adjourned the Assembly till the day following.

*Tiberius* then went down into the Market-place amongst the People, and made his first Addresses to them in an humble posture with Tears in his Eyes ; and afterwards told them, he had just reason to suspect, that his Adversaries would attempt in the Night-time to break open his House, and murder him. This work'd so strongly with the Multitude, that several of them crected Tents round about his House, and kept Guard all night for the security of his Person. By break of day came one of the *Soothsayers* , who prognosticate good or bad Success by the pecking of Fowls, and threw them something to eat : the *Soothsayer* used his utmost Endeavours to fright the Fowls out of their Coop ; but none of them except one would venture out, which flutter'd with its left Wing, and stretch'd out its Leg, and run back again into the Coop, without eating any thing. This put *Tiberius* in mind of another ill Omen, which had

*Several ill Omens happened to him.*



had formerly hapned to him : he had a very costly Head piece, which he made use of when he engaged in any Battel, and into this piece of Armour two Serpents crawl'd, laid Eggs, and brought forth young ones ; the remembrance of which, made *Tiberius* more concern'd at this, than otherwise he would have been. However he went towards the *Capitol*, as soon as ever he understood that the People were assembled there ; but before he got out of the House, he stumbled upon the Thresh-hold with such violence, that he broke the Nail of his great Toe, inso-much that Blood gush'd out of his Shoo. He was not gone very far, before he saw two Ravens fighting on the top of a House, which stood on his left hand as he pass'd along ; and tho' he was surrounded with an infinite number of People, a Stone happen'd to fall just at his Foot, beaten down (as it's probable) by the Ravens : which Accident put a stop to those that were the boldest Men about him. But *Blasius* of *Cuma*, who happen'd to be then present, told him, That it would be a shameful thing for *Tiberius*, who was the Son of *Gracchus*, the Nephew of *Scipio Africanus*, and the Protector of the *Roman People*, to refuse (for fear of a silly Bird) to promote the Inter-

rest

rest of his Countreymen, who might reasonably expect it from him ; and that his Adversaries would not only represent this, as the effect of a mean Spirit, but the trick of a Tyrant, who had no other intention than to abuse the generous Kindness of the common People. At the same time several Messengers came also from *Tiberius's* Friends, to desire his presence at the *Capitol*, and to acquaint him, that all things went there according to expectation. Indeed *Tiberius's* first entrance there was very pompous, and he was honourably received ; for as soon as ever he appeared, his Friends welcom'd him with loud Acclamations into the *Capitol* : and when he had taken his Place, they repeated their expressions of Joy, and took care that no Person what-ever should come near him, unless those who were his intimate Friends. *Mutius* then began to put the Business again to the Vote ; but nothing was performed with the usual Decency and Order, by reason of the Disturbance which the Rabble made, by their pressing forwards to get into the *Capitol*.

Whilst these things were carried on in this Confusion, *Flavius Flaccus*, a Senator, standing in a Place higher than ordinary, but at such a distance from *Tiberius*,

us,

us, that when he could not make him hear, by reason of the tumultuous noise, signified to him by certain motions of his Hand, that he had a desire to impart something of Consequence to him in private. *Tiberius* order'd the Multitude to make way for him, by which means (tho' not without some difficulty) *Flavius* got to him, and inform'd him, that the Senators, seeing they could not prevail upon the *Consul* to espouse their Quarrel, had at length come to this final Determination amongst themselves, that he should be assassinated; and to that purpose had a great number of their Friends and Servants prepared to accomplish it. *Tiberius* no sooner communicated this Confederacy to those about him, but they immediately tuck'd up their long Gowns, broke the Halberts which the Serjeants used to keep the Crowd off, into pieces, and with those resolv'd to oppose all violent Assaultants. They who stood at a distance wonder'd, and demanded what the occasion of that Disorder should be; *Tiberius* knowing that they could not hear him at that distance, lifted his Hand to his Head, thereby intimating the great Danger which he apprehended himself to be in: his Adversaries taking notice of that Action, ran pre-

presently to the Senate-house, and declared, that *Tiberius* desired the People to bestow a Crown upon him, and that he might be *King of Rome*. This being very surprizing, *Nasica* presently demanded of the *Consul*, that he would punish this Tyrant, and defend the Government, as by Law establish'd. The *Consul* mildly reply'd, *That he would not be guilty of an unjust action; and as he would not suffer any Free-man to be put to death, before Sentence had lawfully pass'd upon him, so neither would he protect Tiberius, if by his Insinuation the People should act any thing contrary to Law.* But *Nasica* rising from his Seat in a great passion, *Since the Consul, says he, regards not the Safety of the Commonwealth, let every one who will defend the Dignity and Authority of their Laws, follow me.* He then casting the skirt of his Gown over his Shoulder, hasten'd to the *Capitol*; they who bore him company, wrapp'd their Gowns also about their Arms, and forc'd their way after him: but upon the account that they were Persons of the greatest Authority in the City, the common People durst not obstruct their going thither, but were rather so careful in avoiding 'em, that they tumbled over one another in haste. Some had furnish'd themselves with Clubs; others  
got

got up the feet of Stools and Chairs, which were broken by the hasty flight of the common People. Thus armed, they made towards *Tiberius*, knocking down all those whom they happen'd to meet with ; so that the People were soon wholly dispersed, and many slain, as they endeavour'd to make their escape.

*Tiberius* seeing these things, thought it his best way to save himself by flight: as he was running, he chanc'd to be stopp'd by one who catch'd him hold by the Gown; but he presently getting clear of that, fled in his under-Garments only. In this hasty flight it happened, that falling over those who before had been knock'd down, as he was endeavouring to recover himself, one *Publius Satureius*, a Tribune, was observed to give him the first fatal stroke, by hitting him upon the Head with the foot of a Stool: the next Man who struck him, was *Lucius Rufus*, who afterwards boasted of it, as an honourable Exploit. In this Tumult there were above 300 Men slain, with Clubs and Staves only, there being no warlike Instruments made use of. This was the first Insurrection amongst the Romans, that ended with the effusion of Blood, since the abrogation of Kingly Government; for all former Seditions, which

*Tiberius slain.*

which were neither small, nor about trivial Matters, were always amicably compos'd, the two Parties constantly submitting to one another, either the Senate for fear of the Commons, or the Commons out of respect to the Senate. And it's probable indeed that *Tiberius* himself might then have been easily brought to submission, if he had not been proceeded against in such a rigorous manner; for he had not at that time above 3000 Men of his Party: but it's evident, that this Conspiracy was fomented against him, more out of an aversion and malice which the rich Men had to his Person, than for the Reasons which they commonly pretended against him: in testimony whereof, we may alledge the Cruelty and unnatural Insultings which they used to his dead Body; for they would not suffer his own Brother, tho' he earnestly begg'd the favour, to bury his Corps in the Night, but threw it together with other Carcasses into the River. Neither did their Cruelty stop here; for they banished some of his Friends without legal Process, and slew as many of the others as they could lay their hands on: amongst whom *Diophanes* the Orator was slain; they murder'd one *Caius Billius*, by shutting him up close in a large Tun with Vipers

and Serpents: *Blossius* of *Cuma* indeed was carried before the Consuls, and examin'd touching what had happen'd; who freely confessed, That he had never failed to execute what-ever *Tiberius* commanded him: *What*, reply'd *Nasica*, *then if Tiberius had commanded that you should burn the Capitol, would you have burnt it?* His first Answer was, *That Tiberius never commanded any such thing*: but being pressed with the same Question by several others, he declared, *That if Tiberius had commanded it, he would not have thought it an inglorious action to have done it*; for he never commanded any thing but what he thought for the Peoples Advantage. *Blossius* at this time was pardoned, and afterwards fled to *Aristonicus* in *Asia*, whose Fortune being then reduced to a desperate condition, he kill'd himself. However the Senate to mollifie the People after these Transactions, did not oppose the division of the publick Lands, and permitted them to choose another Commissioner for that Business in the room of *Tiberius*: so they elected *Publius Crassus*, who was *Gracchus's* near Kinsman, because his Daughter *Licinia* was married to *Caius Gracchus*; altho *Cornelius Nepos* says, that she was not the *Crassus's* Daughter, whom *Caius* married, but *Brutus's*, that triumph'd for his

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Conquests in *Portugal*: but most Historians are of the same opinion with us. Afterwards the People were much concern'd for the loss of *Tiberius*; and it was apparent, that they wanted nothing but a convenient opportunity to be revenged, and already threaten'd to bring *Nasica* to his Trial. The Senate fearing lest some Mischief should befall *Nasica*, sent him Ambassador into *Asia*, tho' there was no other occasion for his going thither. The common People did not conceal their Indignation even in the open Streets, but rail'd at him, when ever they met him abroad, calling him a Murderer and a Tyrant, one who had polluted even the Temple it self, with the blood of a Tribune. Upon this Consideration *Nasica* left *Italy*, altho' he was obliged, being the Chief-Priest, to officiate in all principal Sacrifices: thus wandring full of Discontent and Affliction from one Place to another, he died in a short time after not far from *Pergamus*. It is no wonder that the People had such an aversion to *Nasica*, when even *Scipio Africanus*, who, tho' deservedly belov'd by the Romans, was in danger of quite losing the good opinion which the People had of him, only for repeating, when the News of *Tiberius's* Death

V v v 2

was

was first brought to *Numantia*, this Verse out of *Homer* :

Ὡς ἀπόλοιτο ἢ ἄλλῃ τις τιαντα γὰρ πέζοι.

*So may he perish, who such Crimes commits.*

And afterwards being ask'd by *Caius* and *Fulvius*, in a great Assembly, what he thought of *Tiberius's* Death ; he answer'd, That he did not at all approve *Tiberius's* way of Proceeding. Upon which account the People would begin to interrupt him with their Hissings, in the middle of his Orations, which they never presumed to do before that time ; and he on the other hand was so incensed at it, that upon this account he reflected very smartly upon the People. This is a full Account of the most material Passages in the Life of *Tiberius*.

T H E

T H E  
L I F E  
O F  
C A I U S.

**C**aius Gracchus at first, either for fear of his Brother's Enemies, or designing to render them more odious to the People, absented himself from their publick Assemblies, and quietly retired to his own House, as if he was a Person, to whom such private Circumstances were not only very agreeable at present, but that he was content also to pass the remainder of his Life, without affecting any publick Action ; which made some imagine, that he abhor'd and detested the Transactions of *Tiberius* : however he was now but very young, being not so old as his Brother by nine years,

V v v 3

who

C. Gracchus  
his Character.

who was scarce thirty, when he was slain.

It was not long before he plainly discover'd his Temper, having a natural antipathy to a lazy Retirement and Effeminacy; nor in the least inclin'd to any sort of Luxury or Covetousness, but wholly addicted himself to the study of Eloquence, as Wings whereby he might easily aspire to publick Business and Government; and it was very apparent, that he did not intend to pass his days in obscurity. When *Bettius*, a Friend of his, was impeach'd of high Misdemeanors, and he undertaking publicly to defend his Cause, the People were in an Extasie, and transported with Joy, to find him at the Bar, and Master of such Eloquence, that the other Orators seem'd to talk like Children in comparison to him. This created new Jealousies and Fears amongst those in Authority, and their great design was, how to hinder *Caius* from being made *Tribune*.

He is chosen  
Questor.

But soon after it happen'd, that he was elected *Questor*, and obliged to attend *Orestes* the *Consul* into *Sardinia*. This, as it pleas'd his Enemies, so it was not ungrateful to him; for being naturally a stout Man, his Fame was equally remarkable in the Camp, as at the Bar. And

besides as yet he very much dreaded meddling with State-affairs, and appearing publicly in the *Rostrum*, which (because of the Importunity of Friends) he could no otherwise avoid, than by taking this Voyage, therefore readily embraced the opportunity of absenting himself. Notwithstanding which, many are of opinion, that he was an humble flatterer of the common People, and more ambitious than ever *Tiberius* had been, of popular Applause; but it's certain that he was forc'd upon, not that he courted publick Business. And *Tully* relates this of him, That when he declin'd all those Concerns, and would have liv'd privately, his Brother appear'd to him in a Dream, and calling him by his Name, said, *To what purpose, Caius, are all these delays? there is no possibility of avoiding that Fate, which is destin'd for us two, both to live and die alike, in vindication of the Peoples Right.*

It's Dream.

*Caius* was no sooner arriv'd in *Sardinia*, but he gave exemplary Proofs of his true Valour; for he not only excelled all the young Men of his Age in his early Actions; in doing Justice to his Inferiours, and in shewing all Obedience and Respect to his superior Officer, but likewise in Discretion, Frugality and Industry, he sur-

passed even those who were much elder than himself.

It happen'd to be a sharp and sickly Winter in *Sardinia*, insomuch that the General was forc'd to lay an Imposition upon several Towns, to supply the Souldiers with necessary Cloaths: the Cities sent an Express to *Rome* with a Petition, to be excus'd from that Burthen; the Senate found their Request reasonable, and order'd the General to find some other way of new cloathing the Army. While he was long contriving what course to take in this Affair, the Souldiers were reduced to great Extremities; but *Caius* went from one City to another, and by laying before them the reasonableness of that Demand, he so far prevailed with them, that of their own accord they cloathed the *Roman* Army. These Transactions being carried to *Rome*, and seeming to be only the forerunners of popular Ambition, rais'd new Jealousies amongst the Senators: and besides this, there came Ambassadors out of *Africa* from King *Micipsa*, to acquaint the Senate, that their *Master* out of Respect to *Caius Gracchus*, had sent a considerable quantity of Corn to the General in *Sardinia*; at which the Senators were so much offend-  
of

of the Senate-house, and made an Order, that the common Souldiers should be relieved, by sending others in their room; but that *Orestes* should continue upon the Place, and *Caius* also, upon the account of his being Treasurer. But he soon finding how things were carried, fell into a great passion, and immediately took Shipping for *Rome*: his Appearance there was so unexpected, that he was generally censur'd, not only by his Enemies, but also by the Commons, who thought it an unreasonable thing, that he being *Quæstor* should desert the Army before his Commander. When this Misdemeanor came to be tryed before the *Censors*, he desired leave to make his Apology; which he did so effectually, that his Auditors quickly entertain'd a better opinion of him, believing that he had been very much injured. He made it then appear, that he had serv'd 12 years in the Army, whereas others are obliged to serve only 10; that he had continued *Quæstor* to the General three years, whereas he might by Law have return'd at the end of one year; that none but he in that Expedition carried his own Money to the Army, whereas others first took care to drink off the Vessels of Wine which they carried with them, and then  
to

to have them better fill'd with the Riches and Spoil of the Countrey. After this, they brought other Accusations and Writs against him, for creating Differences amongst the Allies, and being engaged in the Conspiracy that was discover'd about *Fregella*; but he having clear'd himself of these things, he not only appear'd wholly innocent of the Crimes laid to his charge, but made what Interest he could to be elected *Tribune*; in which tho' he was generally oppos'd by all Persons of Quality, yet there came such infinite numbers of People from all Parts of *Italy*, to vote for *Caius*, that many wanted Lodgings in the City; and the Field being not large enough to contain the Company, there were several who gave their Votes from Roofs and Battlements of Houses: however the Nobility did so influence the People, and cross *Caius's* Expectations, that he was not return'd the first, (as was expected) but the fourth *Tribune*. When he came once to the execution of his Office, it was seen presently who deserved to have been the first *Tribune*; for he was a much better Orator than any of his Co-temporaries, and the Concern which he still retain'd for the Murder of his Brother, made him the bolder in speaking. He us'd on all occasions to re-

mind

mind the People of what had happen'd in that Tumult, and laid before them the Examples of their Ancestors; how they declared War against the *Ealisci*, only for giving scurrilous Language to one *Gennitius*, a *Tribune* of the People; and sentenced *C. Vulturius* to death, for taking the Wall of a *Tribune* in the Streets: *Whereas*, said he, *these Persons did in the presence of you all murder Tiberius with Clubs, and dragg'd the slaughter'd Body through the middle of the City, to be cast into the River; even his Friends, as many as could be taken, were put to death immediately, without any tryal, notwithstanding that just and ancient Custom, which was always observed among our Forefathers; that when-ever any one was accused of a capital Crime, and did not make his personal appearance in Court, a Trumpet was sent in the morning to his Lodging, to summon him by sound of Trumpet to appear: and before this Ceremony was duely performed, the Judges would never proceed to pass Sentence; so cautious and reserv'd were our Ancestors about Business of Life and Death.*

*Caius* having moved the People with such Speeches, (for his Voice was loud and strong) he propos'd two Laws: The first was, That who-ever was turn'd out of any publick Office by the People,

he

*His Laws.*



he should be thereby render'd incapable of bearing any Office afterwards. The second was, That if any Magistrate shall condemn a Roman to be banished without a legal Tryal, the People shall be authorized to take cognizance thereof.

One of these Laws did manifestly reflect upon *M. Octavius*, who at the Institution of *Tiberius*, had been depriv'd of his *Tribuneship*: The other touched *Popilius*, who in his *Prætorship* had banished all *Tiberius's* Friends; whereupon *Popilius* being unwilling to stand the hazard of a Tryal, fled out of *Italy*. As for the former Law, it was abrogated by *Caius* himself, who declared his readiness to oblige *Octavius* for the sake of his Mother *Cornelia*: this was very acceptable and pleasing to the People, who had a great Veneration for *Cornelia*, both in respect to her Father and her Children; and therefore they afterwards erected a Statue of Brass in Honour of her, with this Inscription, *Cornelia, the Mother of the Gracchi*. There are several Expressions in writing, which he used perhaps with too much Affectation and Popularity concerning her, to one of her Adversaries: *How*, said he, *dare you presume to reflect upon Cornelia, the Mother of Tiberius?* And because the Person who made the

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Reflections, had been suspected for Sodomy, *With what face*, said he, *can you compare Cornelia with your self? have you brought forth such Children as she has done? and yet all Rome knows, that she has restrain'd from the Conversation of Men, longer than you your self have done.* These and many other such satyrical Expressions may be collected out of his Orations: he afterwards propos'd several other Laws, to raise the People's Authority, and to detract from the Senate's.

The first was concerning the publick Lands, which were to be divided amongst the poor Citizens.

*Other Laws prefer'd by C. Gracch.*

Another was concerning the common Souldiers, that they should be cloathed at the publick Charge, without any diminution of their Pay, and that none should be obliged to serve in the Army, who was not full 17 years old.

Another gave an equal Liberty to all the *Italians* in general, of voting at Elections, as was granted to the Citizens of *Rome*.

Another was concerning the price of Bread-corn, which was to be sold at a lower rate than formerly to the poor People.

Another was concerning Matters of Judicature, whereby the Authority

rity of the Senate was very much retrenched.

For only Senators were formerly Judges in all Causes, by which means their Authority was very much dreaded by the *Roman* Knights and the People: but he joyn'd 300 ordinary Gentlemen with the Senators, who were 300 likewise in number, and ordain'd, that a judicial Authority should be equally invested in the 600. While he was arguing for the ratification of this Law, his Behaviour was observed to be quite different from others; for all other Orators in their Speeches, used to turn their Faces towards the Senate-house, and the Place called *Comitium*: but he, on the contrary, was the first Man that in his Harangue to the People, turn'd himself the other way towards them, and after that time always observed the same posture. Which however insignificant that Turn might seem, yet it was the cause of no small one in State-affairs; for he in a manner converted the Government from an *Aristocracy* to a *Democracy*, thereby intimating by that Action, that all Orators in proposing State-affairs, ought to speak to the People, not the Senate.

As soon as the Commonalty had ratified this Law, and given him power to elect those

those whom he approved of, to be Judges, he was invested with such an absolute Power, that the Senate submitted to consult with him in Matters of Difficulty; and he always took care to advise nothing, that might any ways derogate from a Person of his Quality: As for example, his Resolution about the Bread-corn which *Fabius* the *Proprator* sent from *Spain*, was very just and honourable; for he perswaded the Senate to sell the Corn, and return the Money to the same Provinces which had furnish'd them with it; and also that *Fabius* should be censured, for having render'd the *Roman* Government odious and insupportable to the Provinces abroad. This Proposal got him an extraordinary Respect and Favour amongst the foreign Provinces; besides all this, he propos'd ways for the re-peopling of several ruinous Cities, for repairing the High-ways, and for building publick Granaries. Of all which Works he himself undertook the Management and Superintendency, and was never wanting to give necessary Orders for the quick dispatch of different and great Undertakings, and that too with such wonderful Expedition and Diligence, as if they had been only one; insomuch that all Persons, who either hated or fear'd him,

*Caius's Power.*

him, stood amazed to see how active and industrious he was in all his Designs. As for the People themselves, they were strangely transported at the very sight of him, especially when-ever they saw him surrounded with crowds of Labourers, Artificers, Messengers, Officers, Souldiers, and Scholars. All these he treated with an easie Familiarity, yet always took care to support his Dignity, even in his greatest Condescensions, accommodating his Carriage according to the Quality of every particular Person; by which means he so far prevailed, that his Enemies were look'd upon no better than envious Detractors, when-ever they presumed to represent him either dangerous, rash, or guilty of the least ill Nature.

He had that peculiar Art of insinuating himself, and gaining by degrees upon the Commonalty, that he became rather more Popular by his common Conversation, than by his publick Harangues.

But his greatest Endeavour was to put the High-ways into good condirion, always taking care to make them handsom and pleasant, as well as convenient; for they were drawn by his Directions, through the Fields, exactly in a straight Line, and paved with hewn Stone, founded upon great quantities of Sand, brought  
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thither from the Places adjacent for that purpose: when he met with any Valleys or deep Holes occasion'd by great Floods, he either caus'd them to be fill'd up with Rubbish, or Bridges to be built over, so well levell'd, that they being of an equal height on both sides, the whole Work made a beautiful Prospect. Besides this, he caus'd the Ways to be all divided into Miles, (each Mile containing little less than eight Furlongs) and erected Pillars of Stone, to signify the distance from one Place to another: he likewise placed other Stones at small distances from one another, on both sides of the way, by means whereof Travellers might get easily on Horseback without Stirrups. For these Reasons the People highly extoll'd him, and were ready upon all occasions to express their Affection towards him. One day in an Oration to the People he declared, that he had only one Favour to request; which if granted, as he should think it the greatest Obligation in the World, so if it were denied, he would never blame them for the refusal: this Expression made the World believe, that his ambition was to be *Consul*, and it was generally expected, that he would be both *Consul* and *Tribune* at the same time. When the day for election of *Consuls*  
X x x came,

*The Italian  
Mile contains  
8 Furlongs.*

came, and all in great Expectation, to see what would be the Event of that days Work, he appeared in the Field with *Caius Fannius*, and made all the Interest he could for him, that he might be chosen *Consul*. This Interest was so considerably useful to *Fannius*, that he was immediately chosen *Consul*; and *Caius* likewise was then elected *Tribune* the second time, without his own seeking or petitioning for it, but at the voluntary motion of the People.

*Caius chosen  
Tribune the  
second time.*

When he understood that the Senators were his declared Enemies; and that *Fannius* himself was none of the truest Friends, he began again to flatter the People with other new Laws. He proposed that a Colony of *Roman* Citizens might be sent to re-people *Tarentum* and *Capua*, and that all the *Latins* should enjoy the same Priviledges with the Citizens of *Rome*. But the Senate apprehending that he would at last grow too powerful and dangerous, took a new and unusual course to alienate the Peoples Affections from him, by their gratifying them in things beyond what they could reasonably expect. *Livius Drusus* was fellow-*Tribune* with *Caius*, a Person of as good a Family, and as well educated, as any amongst the *Romans*, and no ways in-

inferior to those, who for their Eloquence and Riches were the most famous and most powerful Men of that time. To him therefore the chief Senators make their Application, exhorting him to fall upon *Caius*; and that he would engage himself on their side in opposition to him, not by using any force, or opposing of the common People, but in gratifying and obliging them with such unreasonable things, as might otherwise very well deserve to be detested.

*Livius* offer'd to serve the Senate with his Authority in this Business; and in order thereunto, enacted such Laws as were in reality neither honourable nor advantageous for the Publick; his whole Design being to out-do *Caius* in pleasing and cajoling the Populace, (as Comedians do) with obsequious Flattery and Popularity: whereby the Senate gave plain Testimonies, that they were not at all displeased with *Caius's* management of Affairs, but privately designed either to ruin him utterly, or to lessen at least his Reputation. For when *Caius* proposed the re-peopling of only two Colonies abroad, and mentioned the most considerable Citizens for that purpose, they accused him for abusing the People; but on the contrary were pleased with *Drusus*,  
X x x 2 when

when he proposed the sending of twelve Colonies abroad, and each to consist of 3000 Persons, and those too the most beggarly Rascals that he could find. When *Caius* divided the publick Fields amongst the poor Citizens, and charged them with a small Rent, annually to be paid into the Exchequer, they were angry at him, as one who pretended to gratifie the People only for his own Interest; yet afterwards they commended *Livius*, tho' he exempted them from paying even that little Acknowledgment. Besides they were displeased with *Caius*, for giving the *Latins* an equal Power with the *Romans*, of voting at the election of Magistrates; but when *Livius* proposed, that it might not be lawful for a *Roman* Captain to strike a *Latin* Souldier, they promoted the passing of that Law: and *Livius* in all his Speeches to the Mobile, always told them, That he proposed no Laws but such as were agreeable to the Senate, who had a particular regard to the Peoples Advantage. And this truly was the only Action during the time of his *Tribuneship*, which proved advantageous to the Publick; for the People were by this inclined to shew a more than ordinary Love and Respect to the Senate: and tho' they formerly suspected and hated

ted the principal Senators, yet *Livius* appeas'd and mitigated all their former Perverseness and Animosity, by convincing them, that he had done nothing in favour and for the benefit of the Commons, without their Advice and Approbation. But the greatest Credit which *Drusus* got for his Kindness and Justice towards the People, was, that he never seem'd to propose any Law, either of his own Head, or for his own Advantage; for he committed the charge of seeing the Colonies rightly settled, to other Commissioners: neither did he ever concern himself with the distribution of the Moneys; whereas *Caius* was always the principal Man concern'd in such considerable Transactions.

When *Rubrius*, another *Tribune* of the People, had proposed to have *Carthage* again inhabited, which had been formerly demolished by *Scipio*, it fell to *Caius's* lot to see the same performed, and for that purpose he sailed into *Africa*. *Drusus* took this opportunity of his absence, to insinuate himself still more into the Peoples Affections; which he did chiefly by accusing *Fulvius*, who was a particular Friend to *Caius*, and deputed a Commissioner with him for the division of the Lands. This *Fulvius* was a Man of a tur-

bulent Spirit, and notoriously hated by the Senate ; and besides, he was suspected by others to have fomented a Difference between them and their *Confederates*, and under-hand to have perswaded the *Italians* to rebel ; tho' there was no other way to prove the truth of these Accusations, than by his being a suspicious Person, and of a seditious Temper. This was one principal Cause of *Caius's* Ruine ; for part of the Envy which fell upon *Fulvius*, was derived upon him : and when *Scipio Africanus* happen'd to die suddenly, and no outward cause of such an unexpected Death appear'd ; except some marks of Blows upon his Body, which intimated that he had been violently murder'd, ( as we have related in the History of his Life ) the greatest part of the Blame was thrown upon *Fulvius*, because he was his mortal Enemy, and that very day had reflected upon *Scipio* publickly in the Tribunal ; nor was *Caius* himself clear from Suspicion : however such an horrible Murther, and committed too upon the Person of one of the greatest and most considerable Men in *Rome*, was never either punished or enquired into thorowly ; for the *Mobile* opposed and hinder'd the Proceedings of Justice, for fear that *Caius* should be found accessory to the Murder ;

but

The Death of  
Scipio.

but these things were sometime after. But in *Africa*, where at present *Caius* was engaged in the re-peopleing of *Carthage*, ( which he named *Junonia* ) many ominous Prodigies which presaged Mischief, are reported to have been sent from the Gods. For the first Ensign's Staff was broken with a violent Gale of Wind, notwithstanding all the Endeavours of the Ensign to the contrary. Another sudden Storm blew away the Sacrifices which were laid upon the Altars, and disorder'd the whole Platform, by which the bounds of the City were described : and besides all this, the Wolves made an Incurfion, and carried away the very Marks that were set up, whereby they designed the Precincts of the City. *Caius* notwithstanding all this, order'd and dispatched the whole Business in the space of 70 days, and then return'd to *Rome*, understanding how *Fulvius* was prosecuted by *Drusus*, and that the present juncture of Affairs would not suffer him to be absent ; for *Lucius Hostilius*, ( one who sided much with the Nobility, and of no small Authority in the Senate, who had formerly sued to be *Consul*, but was repulsed by *Caius's* Interest, whereby *Fannius* was elected ) was in a fair way now of being chosen *Consul*, because

X x x 4

he

he had a numerous company of Friends; and it was generally believ'd, if he did obtain it, that he would wholly ruine *Caius's* Interest, whose Power was already in a declining condition; and the People were not so apt to admire his Actions as formerly, because there were several others who every day contrived new ways to please the People, with which the Senate did readily comply. After his Return to *Rome*, he quitted his House on the *Palatine Mount*, and went to live in a certain Place near to the publick Court, thereby endeavouring to make himself more popular in those Parts, where most of the pitiful and meanest Inhabitants were lodged. In the next place he endeavour'd to propose other Laws, in order to have them ratified by popular Votes; upon which account he conven'd a prodigious number of People from all the adjacent Places: but the Senate perswaded *Fannius* the *Consul*, to command all Persons, who were not Natives and Inhabitants of *Rome*, to depart the City. A new and unusual Proclamation was thereupon made, prohibiting any of the Allies or Confederates to appear at *Rome* during that time. *Caius* on the contrary publish'd an Edict, accusing the *Consul* for what he had done, and setting

ting forth to the Confederates, that if they would continue upon the Place, they might be assured of his Assistance and Protection. However he was not so good as his word; for tho' he saw one of his own familiar Friends and Companions dragg'd to Prison by *Fannius's* Officers, he notwithstanding passed by, without either assisting him, or taking any notice of him: which he did, either because he was afraid to stand the test of his Power, which was already decreased, or because he (as he himself reported) was unwilling to give his Enemies an opportunity, which they very much desired, of making an Insurrection. About that time there happen'd likewise a Difference between him and his fellow-Officers upon this occasion: A Prize was to be sought before the People in the Market-place, and most of the Officers erected Scaffolds round about, with an intention of letting them for Advantage. *Caius* commanded them to take down their Scaffolds, that the poor People might see the Sport without paying any thing. But no body obeying these Orders of his, he gather'd together some Labourers, and overthrew all the Scaffolds, the very night before the Prize was to be play'd; so that by the next morning the Market-place was clear'd, and

and the common People had an opportunity of seeing the Pastime *gratis*. Upon this account, the Rabble esteem'd him as a Man of great Generosity; but he very much disoblige'd the *Tribunes*, and the Action was look'd upon as a piece of Rashness, and full of Presumption.

Caius mis'd of his third Tribuneship.  
 This was thought to be the chief Reason, that he fail'd of being a third time elected *Tribune*; not but that he had the most Votes, but because his *Colleagues* out of Revenge caus'd false *Returns* to be made. But as to this Matter there is not much credit to be given: certain it is, he very much resent'd this Repulse, and behav'd himself with an unusual sort of Arrogance towards some of his Adversaries, who were joyful at this Defeat of his, telling them, That all their Mirth was a *Sardonian Laugh* only; they being wholly in the dark, as to those Intrigues which he was carrying on.

This saying is occasion'd from a piousness, which in that Country, which wherever it is, he presently seems to laugh, and in that posture dies.  
 As soon as *Opimius* was chosen *Consul*, they presently cancell'd several of *Caius's* Laws, especially as to what he had enact'd, in reference to some Designs at *Carthage*, omitting nothing which was most probable to enrage him, that from some effect of his Passion, they might find out a colourable pretence to put him to death. *Caius* at first bore these things very patient-

ently; but afterwards at the Instigation of his Friends, especially *Fulvius*, he resolv'd to raise Forces, and oppose the Authority of the *Consuls*. His Mother *Cornelia* also is reported by some, to have assisted him in carrying on this Sedition, by sending privately several Strangers into *Rome*, under pretence as if they came to be hired there for Harvest-men; and she acquainted her Son with this Project, by writing Letters to him in Cyphers: however 'tis confidently affirmed by others, that *Cornelia* did not in the least approve of these Actions.

When the day came, in which *Opimius* designed to abrogate the Laws of *Caius*, both Parties met very early at the *Capitol*; and the *Consul* having performed all the Rites usual in their Sacrifices, one *Quintus Attyllius*, a Serjeant, carrying out the Entrails of the Beast, spoke to *Fulvius*, and his Friends who stood about him, *Factionary Citizens*, says he, *make way for honest Men*. Some report, that besides this provoking Language, he extended his naked Arm towards 'em, which is reckon'd, it seems, as a piece of Scorn and Contempt. Upon this they presently flew him, with a sort of *Bodkins* or *Pencils*, which are used in Writing; tho' some say, that at present they had furnish'd them-



themselves with 'em for this Employment only. This Murther caused a sudden Consternation in the whole Assembly, and the chiefeſt Men in Authority had their different Reſentments of it : as for *Caius*, he was in a great Paſſion, and ſeverely reprimanded ſome of his own Party, becauſe they had given their Adverſaries a colourable pretence to proceed againſt them, which they had ſo long hop'd for. *Opimius* gratefully embracing this occaſion, ſtood up, and excited the People to Revenge ; but there happening a great ſhower of Rain on the ſudden, it put an end to the buſineſs of that day.

Early the next morning, the *Conſul* having again ſummon'd the Aſſembly, and whiſt he adviſed with the Senators in the Court concerning publick Affairs, the Corps of *Attyllius* was laid upon a Bier, and brought through the Market-place, being there expoſed to open view juſt before the Senate-houſe, every one expreſſing a great deal of Sorrow and Lamentation. *Opimius* was not at all ignorant, that this was deſign'd to be done ; however he ſeem'd to be ſurprized, and wonder'd what the meaning of it ſhould be : the Senators therefore preſently went out, to know the occaſion of it ; and ſtanding about the Corps, ſome con-

do.

doed the Perſon that was ſlain ; all re- preſented it as an inhumane and barbarous Action. In the mean time, there were ſome then preſent, who were ſenſible of, and very much reſented this Partiality of the Senators ; conſidering, that when they themſelves had not only aſſaſinated *Tiberius Gracchus*, as he was executing his Office in the very *Capitol*, but had alſo thrown his mangled Body into the River ; yet that now they ſhould expoſe to open view ; that they ſhould bewail and honour with their preſence, the Corps of a mean, mercenary Fellow, ( who tho' he might perhaps die wrongfully, was however in a great measure the occaſion of it himſelf ) and by theſe means to undermine him, who remains the only Defender and Safeguard of the People.

The Senators after ſome time withdrew, and preſently order'd, that *Opimius* the *Conſul* ſhould be inveſted with ſuch Power, whereby he might protect the Common-wealth, and ſuppreſs all Tyrants. This being decreed, he preſently commanded the Senators to arm themſelves, and that the *Roman Knights* ſhould be in a readineſs very early the next morning, and every one of 'em to be attended with two Servants well armed.

Ful-

*A Decree of  
the Senate  
againſt Caius  
Gracchus.*

*Fulvius* on the other side accoutred himself, and got together the Rabble. *Caius* at that time returning from the Market-place, made a stop just before his Father's Statue, and fixing his Eyes for some time upon it, remain'd in a deep Contemplation; at length he sigh'd, let fall a few Tears, and departed. This made no small Impression upon those who saw it, and they began to upbraid one another, that they should desert and betray so worthy a Man as *Caius*. They therefore went directly to his House, remaining there as a Guard about it all night, tho' in a different manner from those who were to take care of *Fulvius's* Person; for they with a great deal of Drink and Noise pass'd away the night; and *Fulvius* himself, being the first who was made drunk, spoke and acted many things, very unbecoming a Man of his Character: on the other side, the Party which guarded *Caius*, were very diligent, relieving one another by Turns, and prudently fore-casting, as is usual in all publick Calamities, what the issue of things might be. As soon as daylight appear'd, they roused *Fulvius*, who as yet slept very secure, by reason of the Dose he took over-night; and having armed themselves with the Weapons which hung up in his House, that were for-

formerly taken from the *Gauls*, whom he conquer'd in the time of his *Consulship*, they presently with Threats and loud Acclamations made their way towards the *Aventine Mount*.

*Caius* could not be perswaded to arm himself, but put on his Gown, as if he had been going to the Senate-house, only with this difference, that under it he had then a short Dagger by his side. As he was going out, his Wife came running to him at the Gate, holding him with one Hand, and with her other a young Child of his; she thus tenderly bespoke him:

*Alas Caius, I don't now part with you, as* Licinia's  
*if you were going to make Speeches to the* Speech to her  
*People, either as a Tribune or a Law-giver;* Husband Caius  
*nor as if you were going to some glorious War:* Gracchus.  
*for tho' then you might perhaps have been*  
*subject to that Fate, which all must sometime*  
*or other submit to, yet you had left me this*  
*mitigation of my Sorrow, that your fall was*  
*honourable. But now, Caius, you expose*  
*your Person to the infamous Murderers of*  
*Tiberius, and that too unarm'd, choosing*  
*rather to suffer the worst of Injuries, than*  
*be in any capacity of doing the least your self;*  
*but what is yet far more than all, even your*  
*very Death at this time can't be any ways ser-*  
*viceable to the publick Good. Faction pre-*  
*vails; power and success of Arms are now*  
*the*

*the only measures of Justice : had your Brother fell before Numantia, they would generously have given back, what then remain'd of Tiberius ; but such is my hard Fate, that I probably must be an humble Suppliant to the Floods and to the Waves , that they would somewhere discover to my view, their sacred charge of your Relicts ; for what trust is there now left for you, either from the Laws, or the Gods, since they have slain Tiberius ?* *Licinia* thus bewailing, *Caius* by degrees getting loose from her Embraces, silently withdrew himself, being accompanied by his Friends ; she endeavouring to catch him by the Gown, fell prostrate upon the Earth, lying there for some time speechless : her Servants took her up for dead, and convey'd her to her Brother *Crassus*.

*Fulvius sent his youngest Son to treat of a Peace*

*Fulvius*, when the People were gather'd together in a full Body, by the advice of *Caius*, sent his youngest Son into the Market-place, with an Herald's Rod in his Hand. He being a very handsome Youth, and modestly addressing himself, with Tears in his Eyes, and a becoming Bashfulness, humbly offer'd Proposals of Agreement to the *Consul* and the whole Senate. The greatest part of the Assembly were inclinable to accept of the Proposals ; but *Opimius* was of opinion,

on, that it did not become them to send Messengers, and capitulate with the Senate ; but to be personally present, and like good Citizens, by defending their own Innocency, and submitting themselves to him, they might thus appease the Anger of the Senate. He commanded the Youth not to return, unless they would comply with these Conditions. *Caius*, as 'tis reported, was very forward to come, and clear himself before the Senate ; but none of his Friends consenting to it, *Fulvius* sent his Son a second time to intercede for 'em, as before. But *Opimius*, who chiefly design'd that a Battel should ensue, caused the Youth to be apprehended, and committed into safe Custody ; and then with a Company of his Foot-Souldiers, and some *Cretan Archers*, set upon that Party which was under the Command of *Fulvius*. The Archers did such Execution, and wounded their Enemies so mortally, that they were soon put to flight. *Fulvius* absconded for a time in an old *Bagnio* ; but shortly after being discover'd, he and his eldest Son were slain together. *Caius* was not observed to encounter any one ; but laying these things very much to heart, retired to *Diana's Temple* : he there attempted to kill himself, but was hinder'd by his

*Fulvius and his eldest Son slain*

faithful Friends, *Pomponius* and *Licinius*: they took his Sword away from him, and were very urgent that he would endeavour to make his Escape. It's reported, that falling upon his Knees, and lifting up his Hands, he prayed earnestly to the *Goddeſs*, that the *Romans*, as a punishment for their Ingratitude and Treachery, might always remain in perpetual Slavery; for as ſoon as a Proclamation was made of a Pardon, they preſently deſerted him.

*Caius's Flight.* *Caius* therefore endeavour'd now to make his Escape, but was purſued ſo cloſe by his Enemies, as far as the *wooden Bridge*, that from thence he narrowly eſcap'd. There it was that his two truſty Friends begg'd of him, to preſerve his own Perſon by flight, whiſt they in the mean time would keep their Poſt, and maintain the Paſſage; neither could their Enemies, till they were both ſlain, paſs the Bridge. *Caius* had no other Companion in his flight but one *Philocrates*, a Servant of his. As he run along, it's true, every body encourag'd him, and wiſh'd him Succeſs, (as ſtanders by may do to thoſe who are engaged in a Battel) but no body either freely lent him any Aſſiſtance, or ſo much as furniſh'd him with a Horſe; tho' that he earneſtly deſir'd,

ſir'd, becauſe his Enemies had gain'd Ground, and got very near him: however he had ſtill time enough to hide himſelf in a little Grove, conſecrated to the *Furies*. In that Place, his Servant *Caius's Death.* *Philocrates* having firſt ſlain him, preſently afterwards kill'd himſelf alſo, and fell dead upon his Maſter; tho' ſome affirm it for a truth, how that they were both taken alive by their Enemies, and that *Philocrates* embrac'd his Maſter ſo cloſe, that they could not wound *Caius*, till his Servant was ſlain.

They ſay, that when *Caius's* Head was cut off, and carried away by one of his Murtherers, *Septimuleius*, *Opimius's* Friend, met him, and forc'd it from him; becauſe, before the Battel began, they had made Proclamation, that who-ever ſhould bring the Heads either of *Caius* or *Fulvius*, he ſhould, as a Reward, receive their weight in Gold. *Septimuleius* therefore having fix'd *Caius's* Head upon the top of his Spear, came and preſented it to *Opimius* the *Conſul*. They preſently brought the Scales, and it was found to weigh above 17 pounds. But in this Affair, *Septimuleius* gave as great ſigns of his Knavery, as he had done before of his Cruelty; for having taken out the Brains, he fill'd the Skull with Lead. There

were others who brought the Head of *Fulvius* too; but being mean, inconsiderable Persons, were turn'd away without the promis'd Reward. The Bodies of these two Persons, as well as of the rest who were slain, to the number of 3000 Men, were all thrown into the River; their Goods were forfeited, and their Widows forbidden to put themselves into Mourning: but they dealt more severely with *Lucretia*, *Caius's* Wife, and wrong'd her even of her Joynture; and as an addition still to all their Inhumanity, they barbarously murder'd *Fulvius's* youngest Son; his Crime was not, that he took up Arms against 'em, or that he was present in the Battel, but because he had propos'd Articles of Agreement: for this he was first imprison'd, then slain.

But that which enrag'd the common People beyond all these things, was, because at this time (in memory of his Success) *Opimius* built the *Temple of Concord*, as if he glory'd and triumph'd in the Slaughter of so many Citizens: wherefore some body in the Night-time, under the Inscription of the Temple, added this Verse:

Ἐξ ἑνὸς ἀπνοίας, ναὶν ἑμνοίας περὶ.

*Folly and Discord Concorde's Temple built.*

*Opi-*

*Opimius* was the first, who being *Consul*, presumed to usurp the Power of a *Dictator*, and condemned, without any Trial, not only 3000 Citizens, but *Caius Gracchus*, and *Fulvius Flaccus*: One of whom had triumph'd, and been *Consul*; the other far excell'd all his Co-temporaries in Virtue and Honour. Notwithstanding this, *Opimius* could not restrain himself from Extortion and Bribery; for when he was sent Ambassador to *Jugurtha*, King of *Numidia*, he was there corrupted by Presents, and at his Return being shamefully convicted of it, he was hated and reproach'd by the common People; so that growing melancholy, and his Spirits sinking, his Infamy still increas'd with his years.

It quickly now appear'd to the World, what Respect and Veneration they had for the memory of the *Gracchi*. They order'd their Statues to be made, and fix'd up in publick view; they consecrated the Places where they were slain, and thither brought the first Fruits of every thing, according to the season of the Year, for to make their Offerings. Many came likewise thither to their Devotions, and daily worshipp'd there, as formerly at the Temples of the Gods.

It's reported, that as *Cornelia*, their Mother, bore the loss of her two Sons, with a noble and undaunted Spirit; so in reference to the Temples where they lay interr'd, she only said, *Their Memory deserved such Monuments*. She removed afterwards, and dwelt near the Mount *Mycepe*, not at all altering her former way of Living. She was very much respected and beloved, and kept open House for the Entertainment of all Strangers, having daily a great number of *Grecians* and learned Men, who resorted thither: nor was there any foreign Prince but received Gifts from her, and presented her again. Those who were most conversant with her, were much diverted, when e're she pleased to entertain 'em with any Relation concerning her Father, *Scipio African*, or his way of Living. But it was very surprizing, to have her make mention of her Sons, without any Tears or sign of Grief; and to give a full Account of all their Deeds and Misfortunes, as unconcern'd, as if she had been relating the History of some ancient Heroes. This made some imagine, that Age, or the greatness of her Afflictions, had made her delirious, and wholly insensible of all her Calamities: but they who were of that opinion, had no Notion at all, how much

much a noble Birth, or a good Education, could conquer any Affliction; and tho' envious Fortune may often be more successful, and may smother virtuous Actions, yet with the worse Calamities, she can't bereave us of that tranquillity of Mind, by which we generously bear them.

*The power of Education to conquer Afflictions.*

*The End of the Lives of the Gracchi,  
Tiberius and Caius.*

T H E  
COMPARISON  
O F

TIBERIUS & CAIUS, GRACCHI,  
with AGIS and CLEOMENES.

WE having given an Account severally of these Persons, it remains only, that we should take a View of them, in Comparison with one another.

As for the *Gracchi*; the greatest Detractors, and their worst Enemies, could not but allow, that they had a Genius to Virtue, beyond all other *Romans*, which was improved also by a generous Education. *Agis* and *Cleomenes* seem'd to have had better natural Parts, and a more solid Judgment; for tho' they wanted all the Advantages of good Literature, and were neither instructed in Morality, nor the well management of their Affairs, (from which, even those who were elder

der than they, had already much degenerated) yet they were publick Examples of Temperance and Frugality.

Besides, the *Gracchi* happening to live, when *Rome* had her greatest repute for Honour and virtuous Actions, might justly have been ashamed, if they had not inherited the Virtues of their Ancestors: whereas the other two had Parents of different Morals; and tho' they found their Countrey in a sinking condition, and debauch'd, yet that did not quench their forward Zeal to what was just and honourable.

The Generosity and the Integrity of the two *Romans*, was chiefly remarkable in this, That in the administration of publick Affairs, they kept themselves from the imputation of Bribery: whereas *Agis* might justly be offended, if he had only that mean Commendation given him, that he took nothing wrongfully from any Man, being he distributed his own Fortunes, which amounted in ready Money to the value of 600 Talents, amongst his fellow-Citizens; and surely Extortion must appear a Crime of a strange nature to him, who esteem'd it a piece of Covetousness, to possess, tho' ne'r so justly gotten, greater Riches than his Neighbours.

Their

Their Politicks likewise, and Transactions, in reference to State-affairs, were of a very different nature. The chiefest things in general that the two *Romans* commonly aim'd at, was the repairing of Cities, and mending of High ways; and in particular, the most generous Design which *Tiberius* is fam'd for, was his division of the Lands amongst the poor People: and *Caius* gain'd his greatest Reputation, by the addition of 300 of the Commonalty to the same number of Senators, investing them with an equal Authority.

Whereas the Alteration which *Agis* and *Cleomenes* made, was in a quite different manner. They did not redress things by little and little, and cure small Distempers; for that would have been (according to *Plato*) like cutting off one of the *Hydra's* Heads, which was the only means to increase the number: but they made a thorough Reformation, and at once freed their Countrey from all Grievances; or to speak more truly, they took away those things, which were the cause of all their Calamities, and so restor'd their City to its ancient Grandeur.

However this must be confess'd in the behalf of the *Gracchi*, That their Undertakings were always oppos'd by Men of  
the

the greatest Quality. But on the other side, those things which were first attempted by *Agis*, and afterwards consummated by *Cleomenes*, were supported by the famous Authority of those ancient *Laws* concerning *Frugality* and *Levelling*, which were instituted by *Lycurgus*, ratified and confirmed by *Apollo*. It is also further observable, That from the Transactions of the *Gracchi*, the City of *Rome* received no Additions to her former Greatness; whereas by the Conduct of *Cleomenes*, *Greece* presently saw, that *Sparta* exerted her sovereign Power over all *Peloponnesus*, and she still sought to enlarge her Dominions, with the greatest Princes of that Age; designing by all her warlike Actions, to set *Greece* at liberty, from her subjection to the *Gauls* and *Illyrians*, and restore her Government, as formerly, to the Race of *Hercules*.

From their different manner of Dying, we may also make some Observations, in relation to their Courage. The *Gracchi* fighting with their fellow-Citizens, were both slain, as they endeavour'd to make their Escape; but *Agis* willingly submitted to his Fate, rather than any Citizen should be in danger of their Lives. *Cleomenes* also after his being affronted and abused, tho' he did design to be revenged,  
yet



yet having fail'd of that opportunity, he then generously sell by his own Hand.

But on the contrary we must consider, That *Agis* never did a great Action, worthy a Commander, being prevented by an untimely Death. And as for those heroick Actions of *Cleomenes*, we may justly compare with them that of *Tiberius's*, when he was the first who attempted to scale the Walls of *Carthage*, it being look'd upon as no mean Exploit. To which may be added likewise the Peace which he concluded with the *Numantines*, by which he saved the Lives of 20000 *Romans*, who otherwise had certainly been cut off. And *Caius*, not only at this Place, but in *Sardinia* too, behaved himself very valiantly; that their early Actions were no small Argument that afterwards they might have been deservedly compared with the chiefest of the *Roman* Commanders, if they had not died so young. *Agis* proceeded very mildly in the management of publick Affairs; and meeting too with some Disappointments by the Craft of *Agésilas*, he frustrated the Expectations of the Citizens, as to the division of the *Lands*, and was constrained to leave all his Designs imperfect and unfinish'd, only for want of a manly Resolution. *Cleomenes* on the  
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contrary acted more boldly and rashly in all his publick Transactions, and unjustly slew the *Ephori*, whom he might by Conquest have gain'd over to his Party, or else might easily have banish'd, not only them, but several others also of the City; for to cut off any Members, unless in the extreamest necessity, is neither the part of a good *Chirurgeon*, nor a *Politician*, but argues unskilfulness in both. By this therefore *Cleomenes* appears cruel, as well as unjust.

Neither of the *Gracchi* were forward to be engaged in a Civil War; and *Caius* is reported to have avoided all manner of Revenge, even when his Life was aim'd at, showing himself always valiant against a foreign Enemy, but wholly unactive in a Sedition. This was the Reason that he went from his own House unarm'd, and was present in the Battel; which makes it evident, that he had consulted rather, not to do any harm to others, than not to suffer any himself. Even the very flight of the *Gracchi*, must not be look'd upon as an Argument of their mean Spirit, but an honourable Retreat from endangering of others; for if they had stay'd, they must either have yielded to those who assail'd 'em, or else have fought 'em in their own defence. The greatest Crime  
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that can be laid to *Tiberius's* charge, was the deposing of his fellow-Tribune, and that he afterwards substituted *Caius* in his room : and as for the Death of *Attylius*, it is falsely and unjustly attributed to *Caius* ; for he was slain unknown to him, and much to his Grief.

On the contrary, *Cleomenes* (not to mention the Murther of the *Ephori*) set all the Slaves at liberty, and govern'd by himself alone in reality, having a Partner only for show ; which was the Reason he made choice of his Brother *Euclid*, who was of the same Family. He also prevail'd upon *Archidamus*, ( who was the next Heir to the Kingdom of the other Line ) that he would venture to return home from *Messene* ; but after his being slain, because *Cleomenes* did not endeavour to revenge his Death, he gave an occasion of being justly suspected, that he was privy to it himself. Truly *Lycurgus*, whose Example he pretends to imitate, after he had voluntarily settled his Kingdom upon *Charilaus* his Brother's Son, fearing lest if the Youth should chance to die by Accident, he might be suspected for it, he travell'd a long time, and would not return again to *Sparta*, till *Charilaus* had a Son, and an Heir to his Kingdoms. But we have ne'r another

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*Grecian*, who is worthy to be compared with *Lycurgus* ; for amongst the Deeds of *Cleomenes*, there were greater Innovations, and worse Faults than these.

They therefore who strictly examine their different Manners, may observe, That the two *Grecians* were warlike even from their Youth, and inclining to be Tyrants ; that *Tiberius* and *Caius* by nature had too great an Emulation after Glory and Honours : and besides, they never stood in Competition for any thing ; but as soon as the Contention began with their Adversaries, their Heat and Passions would so far prevail beyond their natural Temper, that by them, as by ill Winds, they were driven afterwards to all their rash Undertakings. What could be more just and honourable, than their first Design, had not the Power and the Faction of the Rich, by endeavouring to abrogate that Law, engag'd 'em both in those fatal Quarrels ; the one, for his own Preservation ; the other, to revenge his Brother's Death, who was murder'd without any Law or Justice ?

From the Account therefore which has been given, you your self may perceive the Difference ; which if it were to be pronounc'd of every one singly, I should af-

affirm *Tiberius* to have excell'd 'em all  
in Virtue ; that young *Agis* had been  
guilty of the fewest Miscarriages ; and  
that in Action and Boldness *Caius* came  
far short of *Cleomenes*.

F I N I S.

*Errata in the Life of Phocion.*

Page 365. in Marg. *ἡδύτης*. p. 366. l. 26. for *mixture*  
on, r. *mixture of lenity* on. p. 384. the Note in the Mar-  
gent should have been set p. 385. against l. 3. p. 386. l. 9.  
for *them* r. *those*. p. 392. l. 9. for *Goodman* r. *Good man*.  
p. 418. l. 22. for *Assembly were*, r. *Assembly was*.